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An  
*alternate  
plan  
for*



# COOPER SQUARE

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*Cooper Square*

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE and BUSINESSMEN'S ASSOCIATION

9 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

GRamercy 7-4155

THELMA J. BURDICK

*Chairman*



July 31, 1961

Dear Mayor Wagner:

We are pleased to send you a copy of An Alternate Plan for Cooper Square. It represents two years of effort by the community, the Cooper Square Committee, and its planning consultant.

Copies of this report have also been sent to the Borough President of Manhattan, the City Planning Commission, the Housing and Redevelopment Board, the N.Y.C. Housing Authority, and other officials concerned with urban renewal.

These and other agencies and individuals have given us advice, encouragement, and guidance during the course of our studies, for which we are most grateful. We believe our alternate plan demonstrates the practicability of renewing communities without dispersing their occupants, avoiding the pitfalls of previous programs.

We are convinced that this report is not only useful for Cooper Square, but can serve as a model for other communities in New York City.

Your encouragement has contributed to the formulation of our plan. We hope your approval and support will lead to its speedy implementation.

Sincerely,

Thelma Burdick, Chairman

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 St. Marks Playhouse  
 Zuckerman's Appetizers  
 Louis Agin's Candy and Stationery Store  
 Schliesser Bros.  
 Ame Cleaners, J. Robbins, Prop.  
 Cooper Square Food Shop  
 Sylvette's  
 The Fitzgerald Gallery

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The plan owes its validity and reality to the hundreds of tenants and businessmen who have come to the countless meetings of the Committee and who have given it the benefit of their ideas, thoughts and energy.

City officials have been generous with their time and given encouragement and assistance to the Cooper Square Committee. These include:

Robert F. Wagner, Mayor  
James Felt, Chairman of the City Planning Commission  
J. Clarence Davies and other members of the Housing and Redevelopment Board  
William Reid and other members of the New York City Housing Authority  
Edward R. Dudley, Borough President of Manhattan, and Thomas Lawless of his office  
Mr. Mullaney of the Department of Welfare  
Frank Horn of the Committee on Intergroup Relations

On the Lower East Side, consultations which were constructive to our work were held with local legislators, the Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association (LENA), East Side Chamber of Commerce, and many other organizations and individuals.

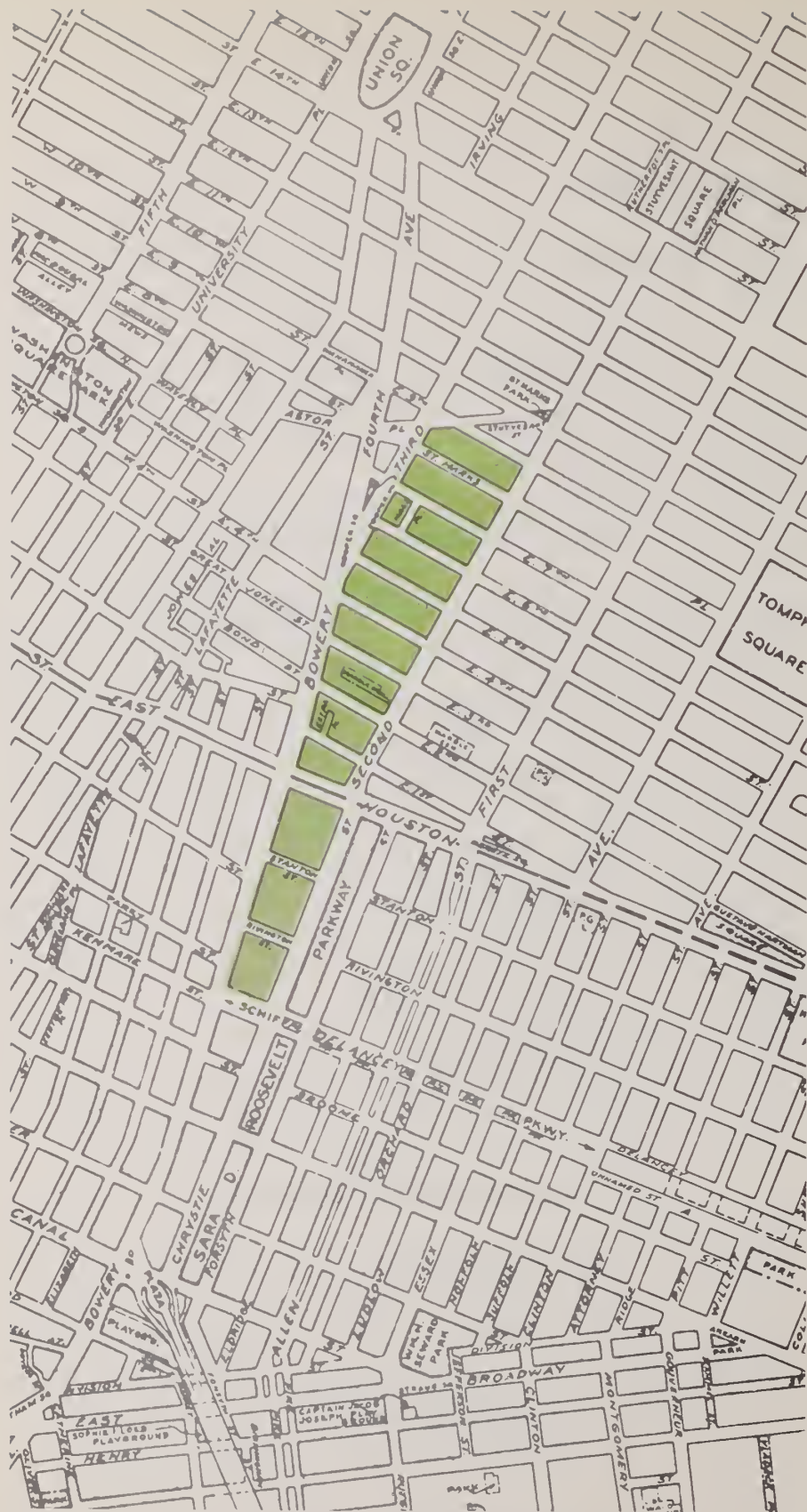
The Committee also wishes to express its gratitude to:

Central Plaza and the Church of All Nations for contributing meeting space  
Charles Abrams who contributed materially to the basic philosophy of the plan  
Hortense Gabel of the Mayor's office who originally suggested the report be prepared  
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Staughton Lynd, one of the organizers of the Cooper Square Committee, and its original Co-chairman



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THE COOPER SQUARE AREA

# Introduction

In 1959, the Cooper Square Community Development Committee and Businessmens Association was formed to represent the interests of tenants and businessmen threatened by the city's plan for Cooper Square. The city's plan, which called for the construction of 2,900 units of middle-income cooperative housing, would have displaced 2,400 tenants, 450 furnished room occupants, 4,000 beds used by homeless men and over 500 businesses.

This plan was prepared with an almost total disregard for those who were being displaced. The survey of site tenants and businessmen, conducted by Helmsley-Spear and Company, was unbelievably inaccurate. Hundreds of residents were not included in the totals, over a hundred businesses were not listed in the inventory. The site occupants were being treated as just so many statistics required to process a plan.

Despite the severe housing shortage throughout Manhattan, the report claimed that some 3,000 homeless men (there were actually 4,000) would simply "disappear." It also stated that 95 percent of the households were eligible for public housing, implying that this was a solution to the problem of relocation.

Business was treated no better than the tenants; a perfectly sound business district was to be emasculated by the plan.

While the community had more to lose than to gain from this redevelopment proposal, the Cooper Square Committee recognized that a negative approach, one based merely on resisting the city's plan, would not be of much help in communicating local feelings or in producing a better result. It was therefore decided to prepare an alternate plan for the renewal of the Cooper Square area.

The task confronting the Committee was not simple. To gain the confidence of the community, it was necessary to hold more than a hundred meetings during the past two

years. Needs had to be discussed, ideas had to be presented, conflicting interests had to be considered. Then it had to synthesize its findings and develop a plan which would gain official acceptance as well as meet with community approval.

The culmination of the Committee's efforts - this report - was made possible through a happy set of circumstances. First, the Committee was organized and led by experienced people who were already working in the fields of housing and social welfare, and included leaders of rent clinics, community groups such as LENA (Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association), and others. Secondly, the Committee was fortunate enough to obtain professional planning assistance at the outset.

The report which follows presents the consensus of the local community. It is not a plan by which the Committee or local interests are ready to stand or fall. It is the presentation of a practical possibility reflecting the Committee's basic philosophy. This philosophy suggests that renewal of the Cooper Square area should benefit those affected by the program, not cause them to suffer from it.



# Basic Philosophy of the Plan

A renewal effort has to be conceived as a process of building on the inherent social and economic values of a local community. Neglecting these values through programs of massive clearance and redevelopment can disrupt an entire community.

While there is no such thing as a definable neighborhood on the Lower East Side, there are communities of interest, both large and small. There are ethnic, social, cultural, and economic associations and dependencies. And there are the individual preferences through which these associations and dependencies are sustained and nurtured - even in the context of a slum community in which people live and do business at least partly because they cannot afford to do it elsewhere.

Below Houston Street, for example, is a traditionally Italian section, an extension of Little Italy west of the Bowery. The Italians are close to their churches, friends, relatives, clubhouses and stores. In a similar way, Slavic peoples have been living in the Northern section for generations. They too have their churches, friends and relatives, and also their meeting halls, bookstores, and favorite shops. These are substantive ties that people do not want to break.

If they are forced to leave the area, their ties with relatives, close friends and community facilities would be either broken or strained. And in turn, their loss to the community may have a drastic effect on the remaining groups. For loss of a few members, a social club or a meeting room will close; for loss of a few dozen, a church or a store can be lost. When one member of a family moves, others may no longer stay. The whole social fabric is liable to be destroyed.

Even newcomers have compelling reasons for wanting to stay. Many Spanish-speaking people now live in the southern half of the area. They came into it because the rents were cheap, and because the apartments were available



(as well as the least desirable). But they stay for another reason. They have found a welcome, an acceptance which makes them want to stay.

Community centers like the Church of All Nations, housing clinics like that operated by University Settlement, churches, and other groups and organizations have opened their doors and their facilities to these newcomers, helping them with their problems, making them feel wanted and accepted. There have been no gang wars, no outbreaks of juvenile delinquency, no waves of resentment in the Cooper Square area.

Among the most recent newcomers are refugees from the now high-rent Greenwich Village area. Artists with families, young single people, and other groups with limited means have come into the area. They too have been welcomed. They add a new dimension to Cooper Square life, and the older residents are sympathetic to their strivings. Because it allows them to remain close to the Village and because they have found it friendly, they too want to remain.

All the site tenants want better housing, but they are bitterly opposed to a project which would displace them from the site. They resent the inference that they are not fit to live with because they are poor, that they must get out of their community because middle-income housing is so important to the future of the City of New York, that they are expendable pawns in the housing experiments of the intelligentsia.

If vacant apartments were readily available in the adjoining blocks, the residents might not be so adamant about this. Though moving is inconvenient, it doesn't matter that much whether they live in this block or the next one. But each and every tenant has had the experience of finding his present apartment or looking for a replacement of the one he has, and he knows it for the time-consuming and heart-breaking job it is. And when hundreds of tenants might be looking for the same apartments in the same blocks, the very thought of moving inspires dread and despair.

The Cooper Square resident agrees that the area needs renewal, but he believes that he should benefit from the improvement, not be the one to suffer from it. If new housing is going to be constructed on the Cooper Square site, he wants one of those apartments for himself.

The right of a tenant to exercise his preference to obtain housing on the site from which he is being displaced has often been ignored in redevelopment. Under the banner of "public purpose", the site tenant's right to housing has been taken away and given to a family with a higher income. This interpretation of "public purpose" is a nefarious perversion of the law. When the "public purpose" is a school, obviously the tenant cannot move back, but when his low-rent apartment is replaced with a middle-income apartment that he cannot afford, his rights are being abridged. Site tenants have an indisputable priority to the new housing on sites from which they are displaced, and it is the city's responsibility to see that this housing is provided for them at rents they can afford.

But it is not only a place to live that is threatened. A much larger issue is involved. Massive clearance would destroy the heart of a business and entertainment district which serves a much larger community.

On both sides of Second Avenue, there is the bustle of shopping and the light of entertainment. Its focus is the west side of the block between 6th and 7th Streets, the location of the Pioneer Food Market, Ratner's, Loew's movie theater, the Central Plaza meeting hall, and the Dry Dock Savings Bank. For one or two blocks north and south of this block, there are other well-known facilities, many of which are unique and irreplaceable. There are dress shops and jewelry stores, restaurants and appetizer shops, galleries and off-Broadway theaters.

Since the major stores are on the Cooper Square side of the street, their clearance would seriously weaken the total district. Cooper Square and the surrounding area would become just another residential community as nondescript as hundreds of others.

Not only would the business district be emasculated and the residents scattered, but the new residents would be sharply separated from the rest of the community. Massive projects tend to segregate socio-economic groups by concentrating families with similar incomes and separating them from other people. Such projects create their own neighborhood feeling among their residents, a feeling that they are different from the people who live there. This is true for public housing projects as well as middle-income projects, and in neither case is it a desirable kind of identity. On the lower East Side, they have led to resentments and misunderstandings.

But it is not inevitable that communities be disrupted through renewal. It is not necessary to tear apart the fabric of the community, or to replace thousands of low-income families with thousands of middle-income families. With currently available tools and a sensitive eye for local requirements, the Cooper Square area can be rebuilt so as to strengthen the larger community.

If a reasonable amount of middle-income housing is provided, it will not dominate the community nor will it be isolated from it. The new residents will join this community of divergent interests and strengthen it.

But before this will be possible, before middle-income housing is accommodated, the environment has to be made much more satisfactory. The present community must be strengthened through rehousing and upgrading, and the way paved for a physical standard that will be attractive to both middle-income and low-income groups. The least acceptable housing will have to be demolished, non-residentially oriented business will have to be eliminated, the problem of homeless men will have to be solved, and the area reconstructed and redesigned as a modern livable section of the community.

These twin objectives - that of retaining the vital community elements and that of creating a more desirable environment - must be balanced realistically. While substantive changes may require the clearance of whole blocks, that clearance does not have to be massive and insensitive. There must be compelling reasons to clear land: the gains must overshadow the losses.

This is the basic philosophy of the Cooper Square plan. The physical improvements which will attract a higher-income group must - first of all - benefit those affected by the program, not cause them to suffer from it.

# Principles of Cooper Square Renewal

Stemming directly from the basic philosophy presented above, a set of principles was developed and adopted by the Cooper Square Committee to guide the preparation of the alternate plan. They are the culmination of a searching analysis of the needs of Cooper Square tenants and businessmen, as well as exploratory studies of housing policies and planning considerations for the larger community.

1. A comprehensive planning and arterial study of the area between Canal and 14th Streets from river to river should be undertaken as a guide to a specific plan for renewal of the Cooper Square area.
2. Blocks which now have more dwelling units than could be constructed under the new zoning ordinance, or whose clearance will impose substantial hardships on those displaced, should not be cleared until the housing shortage abates or resettlement difficulties are alleviated.
3. Housing at rents the site tenants can afford must be made available on the site. This includes low-rent public housing and moderate-rental private housing, as well as provision for special needs.
4. Until such time as our renewal tools are sufficiently sharpened, it seems the better part of valor to strengthen and support local business districts rather than to demolish and fail to re-establish them.
5. Clearance and reconstruction should be scheduled in stages so that on-site transfer of site occupants is maximized and off-site relocation is kept to the bare minimum.
6. Off-site relocation should be conducted with the maximum sympathy and consideration for those displaced. Every effort to find quarters in the desired



area of preference should be made, and special assistance should be given to those who need it.

7. Where business uses are acquired, full compensation for all losses, including good-will, should be paid to the owners of the businesses. They should have priority to return to the site and be financially aided to re-establish themselves on, as well as off, the site.

8. Community facilities should be retained in areas to be cleared wherever feasible, or rehoused in new quarters on the site.

9. No massive projects should be built, either public or private. Where a large number of units of a single income type are to be built, they should be divided into two or more separate projects, and physically separated by other uses.

10. The renewed area should be visually and socially satisfying. Local business uses and community facilities should be designed as an integral part of the residential area.



# **Overall Housing and Planning Considerations**

Any renewal project on the lower East Side has to be developed within the framework of policies and plans which are generally applicable. At present, lower East Side housing and renewal policies would be at odds with the basic philosophy of the Cooper Square plan, primarily because of past concentration on middle-income housing.

This policy, now coming under increasing fire locally, needs re-examination. Renewal has been slowed and all but halted, and the resistance of tenants to clearance and redevelopment is becoming increasingly stubborn.

In addition to questions of housing and renewal policy, there are overall problems of development and of transportation planning. Since the bulk of the area west of the Bowery will ultimately be redeveloped, there is a splendid opportunity to effect major changes in land use and in the major street system. These problems have been explored as they might affect the planning for the Cooper Square area.

## **Housing And Renewal Policy**

While the low income and low rent paying ability of lower East Side residents is generally conceded, there has been a good deal of discussion concerning the desirability of adding more public housing units to the current supply of 11,000 units on the lower East Side. Indeed, up to the immediate past, both civic groups and business men have opposed additional public housing while vigorously supporting more and more middle-income units.

Already some 6,500 units of middle-income housing have been built on the lower East Side. Another 2,200 units in the Seward Park Extension and Division St. projects are likely to be approved, and some 11,000 more units have

been proposed. By contrast, 1,200 units of public housing are moving toward construction, and no more are proposed.

The local opposition to public housing is not based on unwillingness to rehouse lower East Side residents. The problem is that public housing has not traditionally been built for residents of the lower East Side. In actuality, lower East Side people have been forced out of the area when displaced from public housing sites, and have been replaced by other groups from the other parts of the city.

In many cases, these have turned out to be minority groups, and the public housing project has created as much an isolated sub-community, and caused as much community disruption, as any middle-income project. It is this fact which has generated most of the opposition to public housing.

But the de-emphasis of public housing and its replacement with middle-income housing has not proved to be a better solution. Relocation hardships have been embarrassing to the civic groups supporting middle-income housing, and the postponement and deferral of several projects has caused concern in many quarters. Shortages of suitable units in public housing for elderly persons and large families, and the difficult task of persuading families in the western half of the lower East Side to move to public housing along the East River, is leading to the conclusion that more low-rent public housing is needed - particularly in areas where none now exists and with emphasis on units of the size needed.

A large percentage (some 35%) of those displaced are not accepted by the Housing Authority for public housing, but do need low and moderate rental housing. It is therefore necessary to supply still other types of housing on the lower East Side. The Mitchell-Lama program can fortunately help fill the gap, especially if its subsidy features are used to the full extent permitted by law.

Thousands of units of moderate-rental housing are needed, both to help balance the socio-economic distribution, and to provide the needed relocation resources for moderate-income site tenants ineligible for public housing.

This low-rent and moderate-rent housing must be provided on the first land cleared, and the remaining site tenants moved into that housing before middle-income housing is built. In that way, adequate rehousing for site tenants, and the retention of lower East Side residents, will be assured. If on-site housing is not feasible, smaller sites in the im-

mediate vicinity should be used for rehousing purposes and considered as part of a larger project.

Public housing and moderate-rental housing can be useful renewal tools on the lower East Side. But to really make them work, the program has to be undertaken on an area-wide scale. An overall program based on studies of housing requirements, relocation patterns, available housing supplies, the potential for middle-income development, and the speed with which such a program can proceed, would have to be developed. It is recommended that official agencies consider preparing and implementing such a plan.

## **Land Use Planning**

Before a renewal program for the lower East Side is finally developed, a look at the potential for redevelopment in the area west of the Bowery might be productive. This largely obsolete industrial and commercial area represents one of the most exciting and challenging prospects for renewal in the entire city. If it were possible to make a considerable amount of this land available for housing purposes, the renewal program in both Greenwich Village and the lower East Side could be significantly expanded.

If this were possible, it would make sense to think of developing an entire new neighborhood rather than a series of isolated projects. Such a neighborhood should include low-rent public housing, moderate-rental housing and middle income housing. If some 2,000 units of each type were built, and if lower East Side and Greenwich Village residents displaced were given priority in such a development, the effect on renewal programs could be electric.

Before such changes could be made, the problems surrounding the displacement of commercial and industrial establishments presently in the area must be studied. Thousands of businesses and tens of thousands of employees are involved. The impact of the loss of jobs must be ascertained particularly as they affect lower wage employees. The value of such establishments to the economy must also be measured, together with the relocation possibilities, the need for new space, and the desirability of keeping such establishments in the city.

A plan for future land use of the lower Manhattan area (roughly from Canal to 14th Streets, from river to river), should be developed to explore these and other possibilities. This document should not only guide the overall renewal program, but should set forth the general timing of all proposed development activity in the lower Manhattan area.

## **Major Streets and Expressways**

At the same time as land use is studied, an analysis of the major street and expressway system should be undertaken, and a master plan of highways prepared for the area. This plan should seek to extend the one-way major street system and link it to a crosstown expressway system leading to bridges and tunnels.

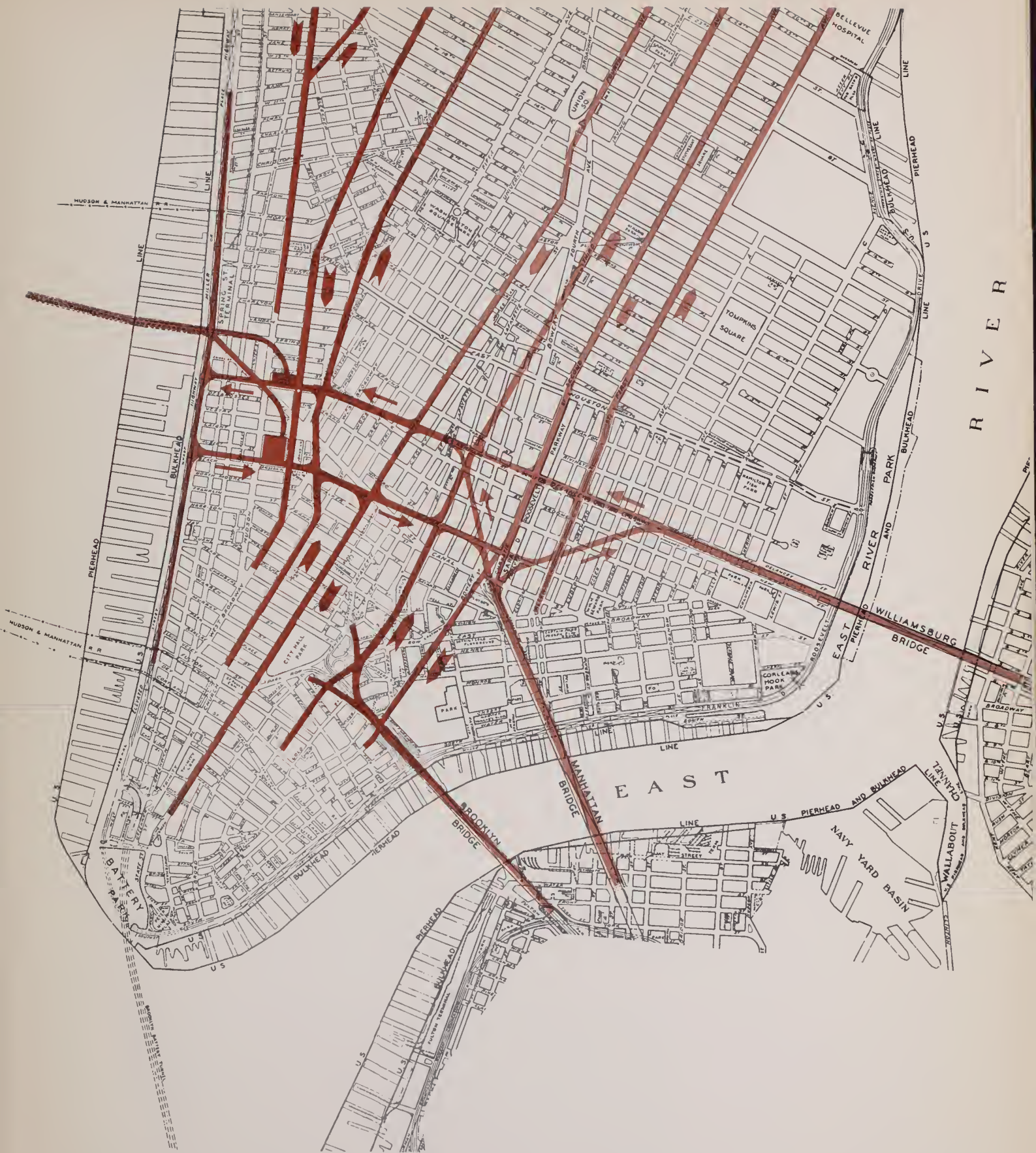
A plan which provides direct access to the major street system from expressways leading to the Holland Tunnel and the Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Williamsburg Bridges will both ease local congestion and provide a by-pass for through traffic. The Lower Manhattan Expressway, designed primarily as a through traffic by-pass, may actually increase local congestion. As do the Tunnel and bridge approaches, it proposes to dump local traffic at a few inconvenient points.

With only two changes in the existing pattern of major streets, the one-way system could be extended south to bridge and Tunnel approaches. If Third Avenue ran south between Broadway and the Bowery, skirting Little Italy and Chinatown, and if Second Avenue was linked to the Bowery at Canal Street, at least four major streets could be converted to one-way operation. These proposed changes are shown on the accompanying map.

Third Avenue and its extension would become one-way north, while Second Avenue and its extension along the Bowery below Canal Street south would become one-way south. Broadway and Sixth Avenue could then be converted to one-way streets. All these streets can be designed for one-way all the way to City Hall or beyond.

If a one-way street system were established in lower Manhattan, it follows quite logically that the best way to handle





LINKING MAJOR STREETS AND EXPRESSWAYS



bridge and tunnel traffic destined for or originating in Manhattan is through an expressway system linking such traffic directly to the one-way arteries. This can be done with one-way expressway links as shown on the map.

A one-way link has enormous flexibility. It permits both right and left turns if necessary, and can be designed to feed all northbound and southbound streets directly. Several Manhattan exits can be linked to a single expressway exit, the local exits ramped down at the desired intervals. Local Manhattan traffic can thus be separated from through traffic by keeping the flows separate, eliminating many of the weaving problems. Different speed limits could also be placed on local and through expressway traffic.

An additional advantage of a one-way expressway system that is directly tied to major streets is the ease with which such a system can be expanded. One-way links take the least space, provide the simplest ramping problems, and can most easily be made part of an existing system. It will probably be necessary to provide additional bridge or tunnel facilities in lower Manhattan in the future.

There are undeniably many problems connected with the above proposal, not the least of which are the difficulties of relocation for such improvements and the advanced stage of the design of the Lower Manhattan Expressway. Nevertheless, the value of a long term plan for such improvements, and the value of planning for urban renewal and street and highway improvements at the same time cannot be denied. The absence of such integrated planning in lower Manhattan only increases the difficulties over the long term.

# **Analysis of Cooper Square**

As a result of the overall consideration and detailed analysis of the site itself, the area to be included in the alternate plan was reduced to nine blocks from the twelve originally slated for clearance. Of these nine, only six are actually to be cleared; the remaining three will be reconditioned.

To make this decision, an analysis of the 2,400 households, 450 rooming house occupants, 4,000 beds for homeless men, 500 businesses and 35 institutional uses was undertaken to determine the potential for immediate action.

In evaluating the site, housing conditions had to be balanced against the difficulties of relocation, and the desirability of new shopping facilities balanced against the difficulty of transferring old shops to new quarters. Many decisions depended on whether or not existing facilities were of greater total benefit to the community than new facilities. Programs were adopted which limit clearance to acceptable proportions and which neutralize its undesirable effects.

## **Residential Use**

Much of the Cooper Square area is run down, some of it in far worse condition than the average old-law tenement area. Some of the housing is isolated, part of the area can hardly be called residential, and much of it is so badly deteriorated that a few buildings are torn down every year.

In the section between Delancey and East Houston Streets, for example, some 300 families live in widely separated, small groups of tenements and isolated buildings. This housing, which is dilapidated, is surrounded by loft and commercial uses, much of which is as marginal as the housing. The neighborhood stores barely eke out a living, the homeless men from the Bowery roam through the area, and the many commercial establishments contribute filth and noise to the squalid surroundings.



## RESIDENTIAL AND OTHER USES

Between East Houston and East 3rd Streets, the parking lots and gas station take over, using space once occupied by residential and commercial structures. Despite the steady demolition of deteriorated buildings, a few buildings dating back to the 1850's are still in residential use. There are three and four story structures, once fine homes, now deteriorated beyond repair.

Further north, past East 3rd Street, the appearance of the area gets considerably better. There are fewer commercial structures between the long rows of old-law tenements and there is some housing of a distinctly better grade. Some town houses and brownstones will be found on St. Marks Place and elsewhere, and a few standard new-law apartment houses as well.

While the housing in the northern part is in better condition than in the southern section, it is still far from satisfactory. By current definitions, the entire residential area - with the exception of a very few buildings - has to be classified as substandard.

But clearance decisions must be based as much on the distribution of housing as on its quality. The following table shows the wide range of housing units per block.

DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLING UNITS AND FURNISHED ROOMS

Block Number	Block Location	Dwelling Units	Furnished Rooms
425	Delancey to Rivington St.	139	88
426	Rivington to Stanton St.	112	12
427	Stanton St. to E. Houston St.	45	16
456	E. Houston to E. 1st St.	58	12
457	E. 1st St. to E. 2nd St.	43	0
458	E. 2nd St. to E. 3rd St.	37	91
459	E. 3rd St. to E. 4th St.	370	48
460	E. 4th St. to E. 5th St.	351	27
461	E. 5th St. to E. 6th St.	492	40
462	E. 6th St. to E. 7th St.	111	0
463	E. 7th St. to St. Marks Pl.	481	97
464	St. Marks Pl. to E. 9th St.	175	17
Total		2,414	448

Source: Helmsley-Spear, 1957 Census, partial field survey. These figures are as accurate as could be developed in the absence of a competent survey. The total of both dwelling units and furnished rooms is 3 percent less than 1960 Census totals for Housing Units, a roughly comparable definition.



The density on most blocks is such that more units can be built under the law than presently exists. The new zoning ordinance, which permits about 150 dwelling units per acre in this area, permits more units to be built in all but two blocks. Block No. 461 with 492 units and 40 rooming house units, and Block No. 463 with 481 units and 97 rooming house units, could be rebuilt with somewhat less than 450 apartments each under the new ordinance.

Because of the housing shortage, there would seem to be sufficient reason to consider exempting these block from clearance. To replace existing housing with a smaller number of units decreases the total housing supply.

The exemption of these blocks is also justified by their condition. While in theory any old-law tenement should be torn down, the housing shortage militates against the indiscriminate demolition of stable - though substandard - tenement areas. While landlords have not been maintaining their properties because of full occupancy conditions, the housing has not deteriorated more than the average, and is occupied by a stable and responsible tenancy. There are none of the ravages associated with overcrowding and transiency.

Throughout the rest of the area, the housing varies considerably. There are standard new-law apartment houses, but too few and in too inconvenient locations to attempt to save them. Spot clearance and rehabilitation were ruled out, largely because there was so little that deserved extensive modernization.

## **Commercial Use**

There are some 500 businesses in the Cooper Square area, of which 210 are retail, and the remainder in business service and repair, manufacturing, printing, wholesale and office and automotive use. The types of business and their general locations in the Cooper Square area are given in the table on the opposite page.

This pattern of business has been compared with the Helmsley-Spear inventory of non-residential uses made in 1957. Though that survey was incomplete, a comparison of almost 400 locations was possible. Changes in occupancy



# INVENTORY OF COOPER SQUARE BUSINESS, 1960

Type of Business	Delancey to Houston St.	Houston to E. 5th St.	E. 5th St. to E. 9th St.	Total
<u>Manufacturing</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>124</u>
Clothing	8	12	2	22
Restaurant Fix.	18	13	2	33
All Other	29	26	14	69
Wholesale & Sales	7	24	10	41
Business Svce & Rep.	12	25	18	55
Pkg. Gas Sta. & Gar.	5	9	7	21
<u>Retail Stores</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>210</u>
Clothing	4	2	6	12
Food	3	9	10	22
Candy, Cigar	4	5	3	12
Eating Places	9	10	10	29
Personal Svce.	0	7	9	16
Bar & Grill	13	9	6	28
Theaters	0	3	4	7
Art Gallery	0	0	4	4
Other	6	33	41	80
Institutions	10	8	17	35
Professional	0	1	15*	16
<u>Total Occupied</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>196</u>	<u>178</u>	<u>502</u>
<u>Vacant &amp; Storage</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>126</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>237</u>	<u>201</u>	<u>628</u>

\* Includes 8 stores used as artist's studios.

and vacancy rates were calculated, and field observations of structural conditions were made. In addition, the local business climate was discussed with site businessmen during the survey period.

As a result of these studies, the major retail concentration along Second Avenue was distinguished from other non-residential uses, and is discussed separately below.

## SECOND AVENUE SHOPPING DISTRICT

While the Second Avenue shopping district has seen better days, it has exhibited a great deal of resiliency and stability if not prosperity. The proximity of the Men's Shelter has been a distinct annoyance for two decades, and many shopkeepers are convinced that homeless men have become in-

creasingly responsible for declining sales. The decreasing population and the decline of the Yiddish theater have also had a depressing effect on business.

Vacancies on the side streets have doubled during the past three years, and even on the Avenue, a few less desirable types of business have replaced more substantial ones. These most recent changes can be attributed to the threat of redevelopment; the probability of losing thousands of dollars in decorating, fixture, and other costs (to say nothing of laboriously built good will) in the event of clearance is sufficient to discourage any businessman.

Nevertheless, a good many new retail outlets have opened in the Second Avenue shopping district. The number of food stores and eating places have increased, and while most of these new establishments do not represent heavy investments, cash outlays in a few cases have run into thousands of dollars. Many existing establishments, anxious to upgrade or modernize their properties, have held off in the face of the city's redevelopment proposal.

A rather new and encouraging trend is an increase in the number of establishments dealing with the arts. Galleries, coffee shops, custom manufacturing and retail craft shops, bookstores, framing shops, modern furniture outlets, and several off-Broadway theaters have sprung up in the immediate vicinity, and have given a boost to the whole district. Some 15 art enterprises have moved into the Cooper Square area alone, during the past three years, spurring the revitalization of this old-time theater district.

Here is a situation which requires sympathetic assistance rather than clearance and redevelopment. If the threat of redevelopment were removed, if the arts were encouraged to develop as an attractive force, if the annoyance of homeless men were removed, and if the southern part of the area were renewed and its population increased, the Second Avenue shopping district could rise to its former eminence.

#### OTHER COOPER SQUARE BUSINESS

By contrast with the Second Avenue shopping district, the remainder of the Cooper Square area is occupied by business uses that are plainly marginal, that are physically deteriorated, or which are so scattered they cannot be retained in any logical renewal plan.

The 100-odd stores remaining on the site are generally of a less substantial nature and declining in number. Between 1957 and 1960, five clothing stores moved out and were replaced by three used clothing outfits. Three bar and grills moved out and were not replaced. Six personal service establishments closed their doors and were replaced by three others. Two grocery stores closed - none were opened. Four eating places were liquidated; three (two very marginal) moved in.

Though there are a few well-kept and substantial buildings in the area, the majority of business is carried on in antiquated and inefficient space. In the restaurant fixtures line, for example, one of the few expanding lines in the Cooper Square area, a single establishment may operate showrooms and storage areas in several different buildings, sometimes next door, sometimes in the next block. Other businesses have expanded in the same haphazard fashion.

This is the current situation for most of the business uses in the Cooper Square area. There is no physical basis for saving any of the non-residential area (with the exception of the Second Avenue business district), and it must be assumed that it will be cleared and redeveloped.

## A PROGRAM FOR BUSINESS

The provisions for acquisition and relocation of business uses are of tremendous importance, not merely because they are being displaced, but because the rights of small business have not been adequately protected in the past, nor have their needs been adequately considered. A program for business has therefore been developed to safeguard these rights.

At least some retail and possibly other uses compatible with residence will want new quarters on the site, and will be capable of undertaking such a transfer. Before final plans are drawn, therefore, a study should be made to determine which establishments will be compatible with residence and wish to transfer their operations to new quarters, and the plans drawn to accommodate such stores.

Most business will not be able to move back, however, and for some of these, the difficulties of relocation will be immense. For example, the liquor licensee - the bar and

grill or liquor store - cannot relocate with ease. More often than not, they must discontinue operations. It may be possible to work out some system of priorities on newly-issued licenses for this group, and it is proposed that this possibility be studied.

Retail uses, funeral parlors, gas stations and similar uses will also require special relocation assistance. Most of these uses will be unable to relocate easily. They have special building requirements or need special locations.

There is also the problem of those who cannot continue in business for one reason or another, and will elect or be forced to liquidate. This includes the proprietors who voluntarily retire, those who have neither the means nor the energy to reestablish themselves, those who are so in debt that they would discontinue operations shortly anyway, and other situations where liquidation is the best solution.

But the most important point of all, and the one about which business is most bitter, is the question of compensation. Businessmen want to be compensated - not confiscated. They want full payment for the value of their business, for direct losses, good will (loss of earnings), future costs, decorating losses and moving expenses.

If site selection is judicious, the costs of adequate compensation will not be excessive and should be met. Inadequate compensation is likely to imperil the renewal program and hasten the deterioration of blighted areas. Even before the threat of redevelopment appears, substantial business will move out of deteriorating areas.

In order to protect the rights of business being displaced, the following principles are proposed for the acquisition and relocation of business in the Cooper Square area:

1. Compensation in full for loss of earnings, direct losses and moving expense should be paid. Where negotiated terms are not mutually satisfactory, the costs of an independent appraisal should be added to the project cost.
2. Prompt settlement of awards should be made; the money award should either be made available immediately, or a no-interest loan service should be provided, with the award being used as collateral. The current practice of withholding awards for many months imposes great hardships on some businessmen.



3. A top priority to return to the site in space that is suitable and at economic, rather than speculative rents, should be provided. Priority should also be extended to other publicly assisted residential, commercial and industrial developments.
4. Considerate relocation services should be provided, including listings of available space or businesses for sale or lease, help in filling out required forms, and help in getting financial assistance.
5. Officials concerned with relocation agencies should study the problems of groups of similar businesses, liquor licensees and other special relocation problems, and develop a positive program for dealing with them in an effective and equitable fashion.
6. Long term loans at low interest rates should be made available to businesses that need to re-equip or make alterations on new premises. Ability to conduct business in the past should be the only collateral required.
7. If an owner elects to liquidate his business, he should be permitted to do so on a 90-day rent-free basis. While in the process of liquidating, the payment of rent for an already dead business is an unnecessary hardship.

## **Community Facilities**

On the Cooper Square site there are about 35 community facilities and institutions. There are churches, a synogogue, American Legion posts, social clubs, meeting halls, missions aiding homeless men, many ethnic centers, a clinic and a branch of the public library.

Several are of a very substantial nature. In this category is St. George's Catholic Church and its accessory buildings including a new school building, a rectory, and a social hall. These are located on the block between East 6th and East 7th Streets - the hub of the Second Avenue retail district. Another important group of facilities is located in the block between St. Marks Place and E. 9th Street. Here the



Ottendorfer branch of the public library, the Stuyvesant Polyclinic and the Polish National Home are located.

Further south, at the corner of East 3rd Street and the Bowery, the Salvation Army rehabilitation and community center is located. This building was recently modernized, and is a very substantial structure. This facility does not cater to alcoholics except in its rehabilitation program, which handles only a dozen to 15 men at a time. This work is extremely important, and should be encouraged. The lounge provides a place for working men and older men to spend some time in reading, attending services and meeting socially. This facility is not detrimental to the area, and should be retained, if possible.

Still further south, between East Houston and East 1st Streets, stands the Church of All Nations. This center is very important to the community, both for its youth programs, its day-care center for the children of working mothers, and the general excellence of its facilities. It has two fine gymnasiums, a swimming pool, a roof playground, many meeting rooms and a chapel. For many years the Cooper Union physical education program has been carried out on the premises and the facilities are used by many other groups as well.

Most of the facilities on the Cooper Square site are worth preserving or replacing. In addition to these semi-public facilities, there are a number of theaters and other cultural facilities which are also of value to the community, despite their more commercial nature.

Although there is no public elementary school in the area, the need for new schools will have to be considered in any plan which increases the population. But since the demand for land is so great, the idea of adding more full-sized elementary schools does not seem to be the best solution in this area. The hazard of crossing the major streets, such as East Houston Street, Second Avenue and the Bowery, indicate the need for facilities closer to home for smaller children.

Accordingly, it would seem sensible to include schools embracing kindergarten through the first two grades (K-2 schools) in residential or community buildings on the Cooper Square site. Several such schools already exist, among them one in Astoria Houses, a public housing project in Queens.

## Homeless Men on the Bowery

There is one group of residents - the homeless men - who have worn out whatever small welcome they once possessed. These men congregate in the few small park areas; beg, sleep and urinate in doorways and halls and are a constant depressant in the area.

While most of the homeless men are harmless and quiet, some incorrigible drinkers and other types are not. In addition, some of the older men have become the prey of younger, more violent types, and have recently been the victims of muggings and robberies. Recent cases of homicide and rape have also been attributed to the predatory men who are not themselves Bowery people. The residents no longer feel safe on the Bowery.

An estimated 20,000 men are on the Bowery at any one time, accommodated in some 12,000 beds in lodging houses, cheap hotels, and missions. In addition, the Men's Shelter of the Department of Welfare feeds and provides tickets to lodging houses for several thousand men daily. As shown below, almost 4,000 of these accommodations are on the Cooper Square site:

### BEDS FOR HOMELESS MEN IN THE COOPER SQUARE AREA

Block Number	Address	Number of Beds
425	197 Bowery	213
426	219 Bowery	229
	225 Bowery	571
	227 Bowery (Mission)	150
	241 Bowery	87
	243 Bowery	39
	179 Chrystie St.	588
	4 Rivington St.	174
427	259 Bowery	79
457	313-15 Bowery	600
	unknown	30
458	3rd St. (Men's Shelter)	580
	331-33 Bowery	360
463	71 Third Avenue	18
	97 Third Avenue	66
Total		3,874

## LOCATION OF HOMELESS MEN



If renewal is undertaken and hotels and lodging houses demolished, these beds must either be replaced elsewhere, or the number of men living on the Bowery must be reduced through rehousing and rehabilitation programs.

Further, the Bowery influence must be reduced on both sides of the Bowery in the vicinity of the Cooper Square area, if its renewal is to be successful. Lodging houses and hotels on the west side of the Bowery must be considered for elimination along with those on the site itself.

On the Bowery's west side there are about 2,300 beds above Delancey Street, only 800 of which are above E. Houston Street. Resettlement of men using these accommodations would help protect the residential community. The men are less likely to enter the residential area the further away from it they are.

Since it does not help to merely shift homeless men from place to place, resettlement must improve their conditions simultaneously.

## A RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

Problems in resettling homeless men include the difficulties of finding space for housing or other facilities, on the one hand and the elimination of the factors which produce homeless men, on the other.

Neither of these problems is easy to solve. No local community, no matter how understanding or sympathetic, wants to have homeless men within its boundaries. It is almost impossible to locate rehabilitation facilities for teenagers much less homeless men, and it has often proved impossible to locate new facilities which everyone agrees are necessary, simply because local communities are not willing to accept undesirable influences.

In quite another way, the factors which produce homeless men are not within municipal control. Homeless men are not only generated locally - they come from other cities and rural areas, and are one of the most unstable and mobile elements of society. It is estimated that there is a 30 percent turnover of men in the Bowery area, from year to year. This suggests that a great portion of the problem is transient, and will always be with us to solve.

While the problems are great, this does not mean that they are hopeless. Perhaps half the Bowery population can be considered more or less permanent residents. For this half, a great deal can be done. A high percentage are aged persons, a sizable percentage are steady workers, and the number of incorrigible drinkers is lower than suspected. Even there, an adequate program of care and rehabilitation can produce major results.

But to make a significant dent in the pattern of suffering and poverty, a major coordinated effort is needed. Such an effort will have to be guided by a detailed study of the problems and the ways of solving them.

In recognition of this fact, and at the suggestion of Dr. Chester Rapkin, Professor of Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, the Cooper Square Committee asked its consultant to prepare the draft of a proposal to study the problems of homeless men and to prepare a plan for their resettlement. The full text of this proposal, already commented upon favorably by several agencies of the City, is reproduced in the Appendix.

The study proposal is primarily concerned with the long range problem and the long range solution. But this does not mean that all progress must await the proposed study. There are steps which can be taken now to improve conditions. Accordingly, a number of interim proposals have been set forth and adopted as a guide to the resettlement of homeless men displaced by Cooper Square renewal:

1. In any substantive renewal plan for Cooper Square, the Men's Shelter of the Department of Welfare should be closed. To offset the loss of this facility, two steps are proposed: First, the establishment of a new cafeteria and reception center for homeless men south of Delancey Street, and second, the expansion of physical plant at Camp La Guardia to adequately house an additional 500 men.



2. The establishment of a winter-work program on an experimental basis for 1,000 persons. It should be a made-work program, if necessary, and should be made available on a paid-daily basis to anyone willing and able to work. Minimum wages should be paid, and neither skills nor steady attendance should be required.

The thousands of migrants who work on farms or in summer resorts during the summer months, return to New York in the winter, and cannot find work in the City. If jobs were made available to this group during the winter months, many would not have to live on the Bowery, and would be more likely to support themselves.

3. From 300 to 500 non-drinking older men from the Bowery should be resettled in furnished rooms and other accommodations in other parts of the City, and their incomes raised through supplementary relief, to enable them to live at the higher standards of such areas.

4. Establishment of additional facilities for homeless men in the Bowery area at significantly higher standards than presently exist in lodging houses. This will be a controversial recommendation, but it must be remembered that homeless men cannot be completely eliminated from the Bowery area over the short term. In the meantime, it is desirable to raise their living standards, and at the same time to shift their location further away from residential areas. Displaced lodging house operators should be given priority to establish the needed facilities.

5. If the foregoing steps do not permit the demolition of lodging houses on the west side of the Bowery above Houston Street, these lodging houses should be condemned by the N. Y. C. Housing Authority and used to house workingmen and non-drinking men at significantly higher standards than now exist.

There are more than 6,000 homeless men living in the vicinity of Cooper Square, north of Delancey Street. It will be manifestly impossible to effectively resettle this many men within the time it might take to start a Cooper Square project. In developing a project, therefore, every caution must be made to limit displacement to that which can be handled.



## Delineation of the Site

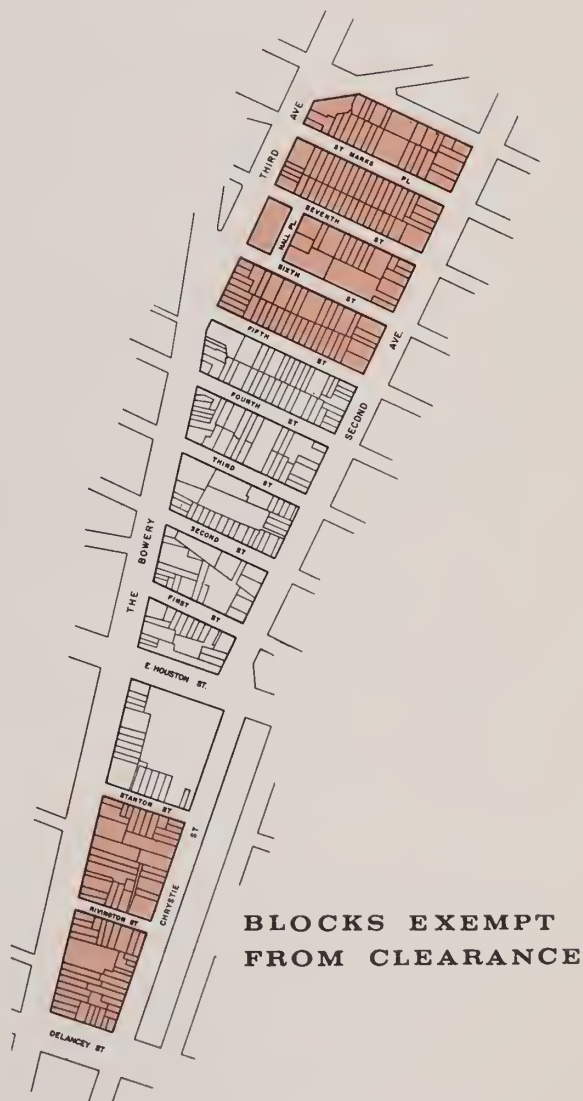
As a result of the analysis, the parts of the site to be cleared, and the parts that should be permitted to remain, were delineated after careful consideration of the problems and site conditions.

First, the three blocks from East 5th Street to St. Mark's Place were exempted for an impressive combination of reasons:

1. The already high number of dwelling units in the residential blocks could not be surpassed by the number that could be constructed under the zoning regulations.
2. The most vital and stable portion of the business community was also located in this sector.
3. Many important community facilities were encompassed in these blocks.

Exempting these blocks from clearance did not mean they would be neglected. It was decided that a program of law enforcement and upgrading (reconditioning) would be undertaken in these blocks.

Secondly it was decided to defer clearance in the two blocks between Stanton and Rivington Streets. It was originally planned to clear these blocks, but when the problems involved in the resettlement of homeless men were fully explored, it was found that the possibilities for short term relocation were both limited and uncertain. Since beds for over 2,000 men were located in the block between Stanton and Rivington Streets alone, it was decided to defer clearance of these blocks.



The matter of resettlement priorities was also considered in making this decision. It was felt that resettlement of homeless men west of the Bowery directly across from the renewed area should have priority over the resettlement of men directly south.

Another supplementary reason for deferring the clearance of these blocks is the possibility that they would be more desirable for industrial or commercial, rather than residential purposes. Delancey Street, already a heavily traveled truck route is a natural location for such uses.

Although these blocks will not be cleared, it is expected that the 250 families will be transferred to new housing to be built on the clearance portion of the site and that the residential buildings will be demolished. The environmental characteristics of these blocks is especially bad, and their depopulation will help prepare these blocks for renewal in the near future.

The final action in delineating the site for the alternate plan was to defer action on the block between St. Marks Place and East 9th Street. This block is far removed from the active clearance area, and might more naturally be linked with future projects, rather than with Cooper Square.

The final site as delineated above will involve the displacement of roughly 1,200 families. A program for rehousing those families is described in the following chapter.

## **Housing Needs of Site Tenants**

In a survey of 505 residents of the Cooper Square area, 263 of which represent a complete survey of the block between East 4th and East 5th Street, the overwhelming number of respondents stated they wanted to stay in the area. Of the 505 tenants interviewed, 455 definitely wanted to remain, 27 planned to move and 23 families had not made up their minds.

In the face of a widespread notion that people in slum areas do not want to remain in their areas, these may seem like astonishing results. But it should be borne in mind that the results of surveys are directly related to the way questions are asked. In the Cooper Square Committee's survey, conducted by site tenants, the question asked was: "If new housing were built in this area at rents you could afford, would you want to remain in this area?"

The answer, as previously noted, was overwhelmingly yes. It was therefore decided to include new housing on the site for as many site tenants as could be accommodated satisfactorily through currently available and even new programs.

## **Housing Requirements**

Perhaps the most significant fact about Cooper Square residents is their low income. Only 7 percent of the families can afford a middle-income cooperative apartment renting at \$25 per room per month, with a \$650 per room down payment. On the other hand, 70 percent can pay only the \$14-\$16 per room charged in federally assisted public housing, while the remaining 21 percent can pay current state-aided public housing rents of \$20 per room (which bridges the gap between low and middle-income rents).

The distribution of income by family size in the Cooper Square area is shown in the following table: The area shaded in yellow shows those who must have low-rent public housing; those in tan, the group that can afford state-aided public housing; and those in brown, the group that can afford a middle-income cooperative.

#### FAMILY SIZE COMPARED WITH FAMILY INCOME

Annual Family Income	Persons Per Family						Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Welfare & Pension	140	100	28	118	10	10	306
Under \$2,000	63	28	9	9	0	0	109
\$2,000 - \$2,999	91	170	135	98	24	11	529
\$3,000 - \$3,999	58	153	170	194	75	24	674
\$4,000 - \$4,999	24	70	84	74	35	27	314
\$5,000 - \$5,999	2	35	25	20	18	7	107
\$6,000 - \$6,999	1	6	19	8	11	0	45
\$7,000 or more	1	15	21	19	13	5	74
Total	340	577	491	440	186	84	2,158

Source: Helmsley-Spear, Relocation Survey Report, Cooper Square. Income distribution data was comparable to Committee's survey of the block between 4th and 5th Sts. Since the Helmsley-Spear table referred to most (though not all) of the tenants, it was used.

Though 93 percent of the families are eligible for public housing on the basis of income, the actual number of eligibles would be far smaller. About 9 percent of the households are composed of single people under 50 years of age, an unusually high percentage for a clearance site. Until the laws for eligibility are changed, these households are ineligible. Another 4 percent are estimated to be ineligible because they consist of very large families or of unrelated individuals living together.

About 7 percent will be considered ineligible because of unverifiable incomes, instability or because they cannot or do not keep their apartments clean. Finally, assuming the Housing Authority continues the trend toward eliminating its arbitrary limitations on entrance to public housing, the number of non-citizens and one-parent families excluded will be about 1 percent.

The total ineligible for reasons other than income amounts to a considerable 21 percent. When the 21 percent is sub-



tracted from the 93 percent eligible on the basis of income, this leaves only 72 percent eligible for public housing.

Of those eligible for public housing, not all will accept it, even under the most favorable circumstances. To find out what percentage would accept public housing, a number of project managers, relocation experts and community workers who know the lower East Side were asked to give their views on the matter. They were asked to assume that sufficient apartments would be built on the site for those desiring entry.

With a single exception, their estimates fell within a range of 45 to 70 percent of all site tenants. Also considered was the experience with public housing acceptance on the Simkovitch site on the lower East Side: From this site, which was adjacent to public housing, roughly 50 percent of all tenants moved into public housing, an all time high.

After evaluation of the responses of the housing people and taking into account the Simkovitch experience, it was estimated that some 70 percent of those eligible (or 50 percent of all site tenants) would accept on-site public housing in the Cooper Square area.

Subtracting the 7 percent of families that could afford a middle-income cooperative apartment, 43 percent of the site tenants remain unprovided for. To accommodate as many as possible of this group, the city's Mitchell-Lama program will be utilized. With its 50 percent tax abatement, the use of the city's interest rate and long-term mortgage features, and a Title I writedown of land costs, it should be possible to construct straight rental housing for an average of \$25 per room.

This kind of housing was estimated to absorb almost half of the group not accommodated in public housing and not able to afford middle-income cooperatives. It would be especially suited to the needs of single people under 50 years of age, unrelated individuals living together, and a variety of other family groupings ineligible for or unattracted to public housing. It is estimated that 20 percent of all site tenants would fall into this category.

This leaves 23 percent of all site tenants for whom housing is not being provided on the site. This percentage includes those who would not want to remain in the area, some whose incomes are too low for moderate rental housing and are ineligible for public housing, some who prefer not to live

in projects of any sort, those who prefer to find their own apartments and get a bonus, and others who might be unacceptable for any of a dozen reasons. This group would have to be relocated into existing old-law tenements, other older housing at low or moderate rentals, or would move to other parts of the city.

The final site as delineated in the previous chapter involves the displacement of approximately 1,190 families. The housing requirements for these families are given below. Because it was not possible to break down the incomes and family sizes of those to be displaced, these figures assume that those to be displaced approximate the distribution of families on the entire site:

#### HOUSING REQUIREMENTS FOR FAMILIES TO BE DISPLACED

Type of Housing Accommodation	Number of Households
Middle-income cooperatives	84
Mitchell-Lama straight rental	240
Low-rent public housing	600
Old-law tenements or other	266
Total	1,190

For all the housing proposed, a range of rents should be established which will permit the maximum number of families to gain entrance to the new housing. A range of rents has been established in some cooperatives based on apartment location, while in public housing, a range of rents has been established in terms of family size. To maximize the on-site transfer, it is desirable to combine both concepts.

A range of minimum entrance rentals based on income will be more equitable than the existing policy. In terms of rent, a state aided 2 and 1/2 room apartment in public housing costs \$58.50 a month though the average rent per room is only \$20.00 per room. If some apartments were made available at \$50.00 instead of \$58.50 a month, the apartments would attract more of the households earning \$2,500 to \$3,000 a year. In effect, the proposal is to do away with an entrance rental system which is based on a statistical average rental requirement, and to replace this with a system which reflects the income differences of individual households.

To illustrate the rental policies proposed, a table has been prepared showing a suggested range of apartment sizes and minimum entrance rents:

PROPOSED MINIMUM ENTRANCE RENTAL RANGE  
FOR NEW HOUSING IN COOPER SQUARE

Type of Housing	Minimum Rental Range Per Room		
	2 - 3 1/2 Rooms	4 - 5 1/2 Rooms	6 - 7 1/2 Rooms
Public Housing (Federal)	\$15 - \$21	\$13 - \$19	\$11 - \$17
Public Housing (State)	\$20 - \$26	\$18 - \$24	\$16 - \$22
Mitchell-Lama Rental	\$22 - \$28	\$20 - \$26	\$18 - \$24
Middle-income Cooperative*	\$22 - \$28	\$20 - \$26	\$18 - \$24

\* Requires down payment of \$650 per room in addition to rental. If assumed to be a loan, this would add about \$3.50 per room per month to the maintenance charge.

It is also proposed that a sizable number of two-room apartments be made available, where rents will be still lower, enabling individuals with incomes of \$2,000 to \$2,500 to get housing without undue strain. The inclusion of such small apartments is recommended for all construction, both public and private.

## Housing for the Elderly

There was much discussion of housing for the elderly, the main issue revolving around the idea of special buildings for aged persons. At length, it was decided that buildings for the elderly, while possessing certain advantages over apartments in other residential buildings, were not necessarily the best way to provide housing for the elderly. While declining to come to positive conclusions, it was decided to propose special apartments for the elderly rather than special buildings.

It is estimated that at least 15 percent of the households on the Cooper Square site are elderly. Since most of the elderly will be eligible for public housing, it is proposed that 20 percent of the units in public housing be fitted out as

apartments for the elderly. In the Mitchell-Lama rental housing, it is proposed that only 10 percent be in apartments for the elderly. In middle-income cooperatives, it is suggested that 15 percent of the units be for the elderly.

As has often been stated, apartments for the elderly require special features. These include doorways without saddles, entrances to buildings without steps, grab bars near bathtubs, non-skid bathroom floors, lower kitchen cabinets. While efficiency units are desirable for some elderly persons others prefer larger apartments. Aged-persons units of various sizes, for single persons, couples, and even a few larger families should be included in the project design.

## **Furnished Rooms**

There are approximately 450 furnished room occupants on the Cooper Square site, perhaps two-thirds of whom regard furnished rooms as their permanent dwelling. Middle-aged and older people find furnished room life particularly satisfactory, as do many students and single young people who are not sure of their future.

While rooming houses enjoy none too good a reputation, they serve an important segment of the housing market in New York City. Though poor in general, furnished rooms range from the worst types of accommodation to the best. Even in the Cooper Square area, where the majority of rooming houses are badly maintained and operated, there are some which are in excellent condition and efficiently serve the function for which they were created.

For the past five years, however, a moratorium on the creation of rooming houses has been in force. This moratorium was declared in order to prevent the use of single room accommodations by whole families, a practise encouraged by some landlords and forced on tenants who could find no other place to live. As a result of the moratorium, however, and also as a result of clearance activity, large numbers of legitimate furnished room dwellers have found themselves in an unpleasant squeeze. While the number needing such accommodations has increased, the number of available rooms has been reduced by many thousands.



It would therefore seem desirable to permit the creation of rooming houses once more, taking precautions to ensure they would not be used by families. New facilities in redevelopment areas make more sense than depending wholly on the conversion market for such accommodations for several reasons: First, the market for furnished rooms is a permanent one, suggesting that such units should be properly designed. Second, because of the favorable financing for new construction, the rents in new buildings would be comparable to those in converted ones, and third, it makes sense to rehouse furnished room tenants in renewal areas rather than to continually force them into older areas.

It is therefore proposed that a special building for furnished room occupancy be included as a pilot project in the Cooper Square area. As an experiment, it should not be expected to take care of all those displaced, but should prove the soundness of constructing such facilities.

## **Artists Housing**

The needs of artists in the Cooper Square and the surrounding area were explored in several ways: First through a series of discussions with artists themselves; second through a postcard survey of 200 artists, and third by the physical inspection of many artists quarters in both lofts and apartments. These discussions and studies revealed the artists' housing problem to be among the most poignant and challenging.

The Committee's interest in artists housing was gradually developed through its public meetings as well as informal discussions. Artists both on and off the site displayed great interest in the Committee's plan, and little by little disclosed the nature of their own problems. An artists committee was eventually formed to gather facts, to bring the plight of artists to public notice, and to work with the Committee toward a solution.

The survey of artists showed the majority to be married, over 40 percent having children. Many teach or have outside jobs to maintain themselves. The customary living arrangement has involved the modification of an existing tenement by tearing down walls to create a larger single

space, by renting two tenement flats to get enough room, or by finding a spacious loft and converting it to their needs.

Though loft living has its romantic overtones, it is often a nightmarish existence. The artist lives in his loft illegally for the most part, and is often fearful of eviction, exploitation, and blackmail by the landlord or the city. Despite this, he will install complete bathroom and kitchen equipment at his own expense, and create a livable apartment out of this barren space. Often too, the loft he has found is in an area without shops, community facilities, or even many other people, making life both difficult and isolated.

Fully 20 percent of the artists live in lofts, and almost a third have two apartments or a loft and an apartment. The rest live in apartments which they overwhelmingly noted were too small. For the artist, the basic problem is obtaining enough space at a reasonable rent.

For what he does have, the artist pays relatively high rents. Those who have both lofts and apartments pay an average of \$110 a month. Those who cannot afford both, live and work in lofts, the rents for which run between \$50 and \$115 per month. Below is a table showing how the artists replying to the survey are housed and the rents they pay:

#### HOUSING CONDITIONS OF ARTISTS\*

	Painters			Dancers and Sculptors	Total
	Single	Without Children	With Children		
Type of Housing					
Separate work and living	2	6	7	3	18
Loft for work and living	4	5	2	1	12
Apartment for work and living	9	5	10	4	28
Rent Per Month					
\$25 - \$55	5	4	6	3	18
\$56 - \$95	6	4	5	1	16
\$96 - \$175	5	5	8	2	20
\$175 or over	0	0	0	2	2
Total	15	16	21	9	61

\* Actors, writers, etc., who have no special need for studio space are excluded from the table.

Source: Mail survey of participants in LENA art show and artists attending meetings of Cooper Square Committee. Survey conducted in October 1960.

The kind of loft typically desired (though difficult to find) is one large room 20 feet wide by 80 to 100 feet in depth. This provides enough space for a studio up to 20 by 60 feet in size while still preserving enough space for all the activities and functions of the normal apartment.

The second desirable feature of lofts are their higher ceilings. These run between 10 and 14 feet on the average, giving the artist an unimpeded field of vision in all directions. Some artists work on such large canvases, moreover, that the higher ceilings are practically mandatory.

The need for space and light varies considerably from artist to artist. Studio area and storage requirements can be small or large depending on working methods, the size of work produced, and the output of the artist. Natural light from the north, long considered necessary to artistic endeavor, is important to fewer artists, a few rejecting natural light altogether for the more consistent qualities of electricity.

Dancers and sculptors have different though equally various needs. While not all dancers need studio space, it should be soundproofed for those who do. Sculptors who work in large stone or heavy pieces of metal need ground floor space and sometimes outdoor area. Others who work small or with light materials can be anywhere.

## ARTISTS HOUSING PROGRAM

Much can be done to improve the housing conditions of artists through new construction, alteration of existing structures, and through a more compassionate view of the problems they face. Both private and public action will be needed.

Special buildings have been built for artists in other countries, notably in France and Italy, and a few have also been built in New York. While those built in this country have generally been expensive, some low cost artists housing has been sponsored by the government of foreign countries. Because the need is especially great, it is proposed that a low cost artists development be constructed in the Cooper Square area as a pilot project, both to test its costs and benefits and to pioneer a fresh approach to this type of housing.

The second proposal is to eliminate partitions between living rooms and bedrooms in the construction of some apart-

ments in new buildings located in areas inhabited by artists, and to make those apartments available to artists. When the living room and a bedroom are combined into a single room, this provides the flexibility needed to lay out studio space according to individual needs.

Such apartments should be provided in buildings under all types of program from low-rent housing to private luxury types. The shortage of housing for artists is critical enough to justify the modification of a fair percentage of all new apartments constructed in lower Manhattan. As a start, to test the demand on an experimental basis, perhaps 5 percent of the new apartments in several buildings should be modified and made available to artists.

The conversion of presently commercial lofts and other non-residential buildings that could be legally converted to residential use would also substantially increase the supply of housing available to artists. Many structures can be converted to residential use through the provision of kitchen and bathroom facilities alone. Others may need secondary egress, fire retarding, sprinkler systems or other alterations. Such conversion would assist in upgrading such areas at the same time as they provide the needed artists housing.

While efforts are being made to increase the supply of housing for artists, it would be most unfortunate if the city pursued a campaign to eliminate all studios and living quarters in lofts, because of the illegality of many such uses. While it is not sensible to amend laws affecting the health and welfare of residential tenants just to suit the needs of artists, it makes no more sense to brutally enforce those laws in cases where only artists are affected. Law enforcement should be balanced against the availability of suitable quarters, not on the basis of legality alone.



## **An Alternate Plan for Cooper Square**

In this plan, the Cooper Square area undergoes a physical change of considerable dimensions while causing a minimum of community disturbance. Though six blocks are almost totally cleared and rebuilt, the majority of site tenants will be accommodated on the site. The essential structure of the Second Avenue business district remains intact, and community facilities are either retained or given new quarters.

On the six blocks to be cleared, a variety of new housing, stores, and community facilities are proposed, and the plan reaches out into adjoining blocks for specific purposes. First, the three block area between East 5th Street and St. Marks Place will be reconditioned. The 250 families in the blocks between Delancey and Stanton Streets will be rehoused and their present quarters demolished. Also, some 800 beds for homeless men west of the Bowery will be rehabilitated or demolished as conditions permit.

By following the rehousing and relocation proposals set forth in the plan and elsewhere in this report, the clearance and rebuilding of the Cooper Square area can take place equitably, rapidly, and efficiently. As will be noted, the most difficult part of the whole program is the relocation of homeless men. But this too can be solved, at least to the limited extent proposed in this plan.

While the design of the renewed area has not been developed in any detail, it incorporates varied building heights and an internal pedestrian area, conceived as a public walkway, plaza, and play area.

The plan is designed along conservative lines, despite the fact that it calls for a variety of community facilities and some pedestrian orientation. A reduction in the number of dwelling units of some 20 percent would have permitted a more desirable proportion of open space as well as better building arrangements.

## New Housing

Of the 1,440 units under the proposed plan, 620 will be public housing, 300 will be Mitchell-Lama moderate-rental, and 520 will be middle-income cooperatives. In addition to these units, 48 units will be constructed for artists, and a 160 unit furnished room project will also be constructed. The following apartment distribution is proposed:

### PROPOSED NEW HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Type of Housing	Number of Units			Total
	2 - 3 1/2 Rooms	4 - 5 1/2 Rooms	6 - 7 1/2 Rooms	
Public Housing (Federal)	160	200	70	430
Public Housing (State)	100	70	20	190
Mitchell-Lama Rental	170	115	15	300
Middle-income Cooperative	235	220	65	520
Total	665	605	170	1,440

The 620 units of public housing, amounting to 43 percent of the total, are located in three separate parcels. Both state and federally aided units are included in the plan.

The use of both federally and state aided public housing is necessitated by the differences in these two programs. While higher rents prevail in state aided housing, the age requirements for single person entry into state aided projects is lower (50 years of age in state aided projects compared with 62 for women and 65 for men in federally aided projects). And while it is possible to build shopping facilities in conjunction with either state or federally aided projects, it seems to be less cumbersome a job under state regulations, particularly where small projects are concerned.

In order for the on-site transfer of the site tenants to work properly, both federally aided and state aided units should be made available in the first stage of construction. It may be possible to work out a reasonable division of buildings for these projects on the first stage site, but if this



**ELEMENTS OF THE PLAN**

should prove impractical, it may be necessary to combine federal and state aided units in the same buildings, keeping them separate administratively. Thus the buildings would house both low-rent and moderate-rent public housing occupants at the same time.

Approximately 20 more units of public housing are proposed than are actually estimated to be needed. This excess is barely sufficient to take care of emergency cases and other factors which might prevent the full rehousing of those on the site eligible and desiring to move into public housing.

Three hundred units of moderate rental housing are included in the plan, in two buildings on the block between E. First and E. Second Streets. Approximately 80 percent of the units will be needed for site tenants, the remainder becoming available for others needing moderate-rental housing.

The average moderate-rental apartment size is smaller than in either public housing or middle-income cooperatives primarily because these apartments are being provided for those who are declared ineligible for public housing. Since this includes many younger single people desperately in need of housing, and a large number of small unrelated households as well, the supply of this type of housing is focused on apartments to meet these needs.

Though only 84-odd tenants displaced by the alternate plan are capable of buying into a middle-income cooperative development, 520 middle-income cooperative apartments on two adjoining blocks are proposed for the Cooper Square area. The distribution of apartments shown above roughly follows the family-size distribution on the lower East Side.

## ARTISTS DEVELOPMENT

A 48 unit housing development for artists is included in the plan. These units will be characterized by higher ceilings, up to 500 square feet of space beyond normal family needs, a less-finished type of construction, and a design which is both aesthetically pleasing and economic in operation. In its way, this project will provide an experimental proving ground for a new concept of residential construction, and will provide working artists with adequate space as well as low rents.



The Artists Committee of the Cooper Square is already moving toward finding sponsorship for this project. A competition to design such a development is being organized, and will be sponsored by one or more organizations with high status in the art world. Eminent architects and artists have already agreed to serve on the competition jury. Other art groups and individuals have also pledged their support. It is expected that the competition will be announced within a month or two, together with a list of prizes that will encourage competent and imaginative architects and artists to enter the competition.

In addition to the competition, the Artists Committee is beginning negotiations with several foundations in search of sponsorship for the project itself. It is hoped that a foundation or group of foundations will donate the building, and that artists will pay rents equivalent to tax charges and maintenance costs. This is one way that low-rents can be achieved, and is the most simple and inexpensive way of providing this housing on an experimental basis. If an outright gift is made, there will be no interest to pay and no mortgage to amortize. Alternate possibilities, including the possibility of government subsidies, will also be explored.

## FURNISHED ROOM PROJECT

A special building for furnished room occupancy is also included in the plan. This building, to be no more than six stories high, will contain rooms for approximately 170 single persons. It is, quite frankly, an experimental building, but it is proposed in response to a genuine and sizable need for this type of accommodation.

Such a building would be similar to a college dormitory. Furniture and furnishings should be specially designed for the individual units. Small groups of tenants would share bathroom facilities and lounges. All rooms would have running water, and most will have light housekeeping facilities. Recreation rooms and library should be provided. It would be desirable to have a non-profit cafeteria on the premises, which could also be open to the public at large.

It should be possible to build and operate such a project at a profit, and to charge reasonable rentals. A write-down of land cost is assumed, and while no direct subsidy is required, a long-term low interest mortgage would be de-

sirable. Rentals of \$10 a week should be possible, depending on the amount of service provided, and the staff required. In this regard, part-time employment of some residents should be encouraged.

## **Community Facilities and Shops**

Two community facilities are slated to remain, and a number of others will be rehoused according to the renewal plan. In addition, the plan calls for schools in or adjacent to residential buildings for very young children in the kindergarten and first two grades (K-2 schools), and for space in residential buildings for both general and special community uses. Three groups of stores are proposed, with space above two of those groups for community use, galleries and theatres, and professional uses.

It is assumed in the plan that the Church of All Nations will remain, and that the block on which it is situated will not be needed for a school. The remainder of the block is shown as park, both because it is a sensible location and because it permits further consideration of the use of the site in the future. Assuming the Church does remain, it can and should expand its day care center activities, perhaps supplementing its program with an enlarged nursery school operation. It is also proposed that its facade be modernized if necessary to bring it into closer harmony with the proposed new construction.

The inclusion of two schools for teaching kindergarten through the first two grades (K-2 schools) is also proposed in the plan. They are designed to accommodate 150 to 200 pupils each, and should also be designed for expansion and contraction through the utilization of community rooms. If such schools are provided, the need for a full-sized elementary school on the site might be eliminated, saving more land for other uses.

In addition to the K-2 schools, each residential building should have certain rooms set aside for community uses. Some of the community uses to be displaced can be rehoused in such rooms on a permanent rent-paying basis. Other rooms should be made available for general and intermittent use for those clubs and organizations not needing permanent facilities.

Three groups of stores have been proposed, one in conjunction with residential buildings, and two in separate neighborhood centers. The total floor space in these uses is somewhat less than 25,000 square feet. Space for about 30 stores is envisaged. No single store would be more than 4,000 square feet in size. There would be shops of no more than 1,000 square feet, and even some with as little as 350 square feet of space. This range of sizes will help to preserve the traditional small store in the area, while permitting some change in techniques and allowing for a better economic balance between consumer demand and store area than presently exists.

The Salvation Army center would be retained, becoming part of one of the neighborhood centers. Also to be included in the neighborhood centers is second floor space for use by professionals, other community uses, and perhaps area for off-Broadway theater and art gallery use.

Some of these uses can, of course, also be included in residential buildings, and it is proposed that full use be made of this potential. The tendency to exclude all non-residential uses from residential buildings is not justified in a high density residential area, and leads to the sterilization of local communities.

## **Reconditioning**

Three blocks, those between E. 5th Street and St. Marks place, are to be reconditioned as part of the alternate plan. The program essentially provides the opportunity to staff an organized attack on inadequate building maintenance or neglected major repairs. The city's own Municipal Loan Law (which has not yet been made operative) could work in this area, and it is proposed that it be made part of the program.

This program has never been used in New York, and has only recently been included in Section 12 of the Urban Renewal Manual. Nevertheless, it seems made to order for old-law tenement areas whose demolition and reconstruction cannot be undertaken immediately. It provides for federal grants for inspectional services, for new facilities such as street lights and parks, and for the demolition of buildings which are uninhabitable.



In the Cooper Square area, the program is envisaged in two stages because of a requirement that the first reconditioning project in any city must be no more than 300 units. The frontage on E. 5th Street, opposite proposed new construction, was selected as the first project in the three block area. The remainder of the three block area is scheduled for reconditioning in a second stage after sufficient experience in the program has been derived.

It is not expected that many families will be displaced except for overcrowding or major repairs, and it is estimated that there are not many such cases in the three block area. The plan for rehousing nevertheless takes into account the possibility that as many as 50 families might have to be relocated to new housing in the first stage.

To minimize relocation difficulties from both the reconditioning and clearance sites, it is recommended that the projects be tied closely together. While they must be separate projects under federal regulations, there is nothing to prevent a close alliance in relocation procedures. Thus, those displaced from the clearance site who are ineligible or do not want project housing could be relocated to vacancies in houses enjoying improvement loan assistance, while those who have to be dislocated for major repairs or for overcrowding, should have priority in the new housing on the clearance site.




## **Relocation and Rehousing**

Altogether, some 1,205 families, 206 furnished room occupants, possibly 2,707 beds for homeless men, and 193 non-residential uses will be displaced and rehoused by the plan. This displacement and rehousing is designed to take place in stages which minimize the off-site relocation while preserving reasonable construction schedules.

The plan finally adopted promises to permit a more rapid relocation, clearance, and construction schedule than normally prevails for projects of this size. This is possible because of the small numbers displaced in the first stage, and the high percentage of occupants which can be transferred to the new housing constructed on land cleared in the first stage.





-  FIRST STAGE CLEARANCE
-  SECOND STAGE CLEARANCE
-  EXEMPT PARCELS

## CLEARANCE STAGES

## RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION

In the initial relocation and clearance stage, only 104 families and 16 furnished room occupants are displaced from four parcels of land.

For those families who prefer to remain on the site, there will be sufficient vacancies in the second stage part of the site to accommodate them. It is usual for some 5 percent of the site apartments to become vacant shortly after condemnation. This plus the yearly turnover of tenancy will insure sufficient vacancies to accommodate all the tenants. Furnished room occupants, however, will have to be relocated off the site. Stage I occupants are presently distributed as follows:

### HOUSEHOLD DISPLACEMENT IN STAGE I

Block	Dwelling Units	Furnished Rooms
Stanton to E. Houston St.	45	16
E. 1st to E. 2nd St.	43	0
E. 2nd to E. 3rd St. (part)	0	0
E. 4th to E. 5th St. (part)	16	0
Total	104	16

As the first stage site is cleared, construction will be started in the four parcels. Included in this first stage are 480 units of public housing, the 300 units of Mitchell-Lama moderate-rental housing, and 150 units of middle-income cooperatives.

While this construction is in progress, and even before, the remaining residential tenants can be classified into those wishing and eligible to remain, and those who need off-site relocation.

Approximately 77 percent of the families in the Stage II area will be transferred into the new housing when the first stage construction is completed. In addition, those who were forced to move in Stage I will be eligible for movement back into the new housing. Furnished room occupants will

have to be relocated off the site while retaining their priority to return. The second stage occupants are currently distributed as follows:

#### HOUSEHOLD DISPLACEMENT IN STAGE II

Block	Dwelling Units	Furnished Rooms
E. Houston to E. 1st St. (part)	58	12
E. 2nd to E. 3rd St. (part)	37	91
E. 3rd to E. 4th St.	370	48
E. 4th to E. 5th St. (part)	335	27
E. 5th St. (reconditioning)	50	-
Total	850	178

On the north side of East 5th Street, where the reconditioning project is under way, it is expected that no more than 50 families will be displaced. These will primarily consist of overcrowded families, though in rare cases, major repairs may cause dislocations.

When second stage construction is completed, the final transfer of site tenants to new housing will be made. The 251 tenants living between Delancey and Stanton Streets will be relocated into the new public or other housing. At this time also, the displaced furnished room occupants will be able to move into the new furnished room units. Second priority for these furnished rooms would go to non-drinking Bowery residents who are considered capable of adapting to furnished room life. Artists displaced from the site would also exercise their priority to move into the completed artists' development.

#### RELOCATION OF HOMELESS MEN

Homeless men pose a more serious relocation problem than any other group. As was suggested in the program for homeless men, it will probably be necessary to create up to 1,000 new and better accommodations to accommodate the homeless men displaced. These facilities should be created at the start of the project rather than later. If a temporary solution is adopted, it is suggested that the hotel at the corner of Chrystie and Rivington Street be rehabilitated

and opened to homeless men. If necessary, this rehabilitation should be subsidized in order to guarantee prevailing rents. If somewhat more permanent accommodations are desired, one or more buildings in the Bowery area which are not likely to be redeveloped in the near future should be converted or rehabilitated as necessary.

In fact, almost all the proposals for homeless men should be initiated as soon as the project is approved. The winter work program, the resettlement of older men in rooming houses in other locations, the establishment of a new Department of Welfare cafeteria and reception center for homeless men, and the expansion of facilities at Camp LaGuardia should all be undertaken when the project gets under way.

#### DISPLACEMENT OF HOMELESS MEN ACCOMMODATIONS

Block	Beds Displaced		
	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
Stanton to E. Houston St.	79	0	0
E. 1st to E. 2nd St.	630	0	0
E. 2nd to E. 3rd St.	260	940	0
E. Houston to E. 4th St. (off-site)	0	0	798
Total	969	940	798

Clearance of homeless men accommodations can be held up until the end of the relocation schedule of any stage because of the physical simplicity of closing down a lodging house, and it is proposed that present facilities be permitted to remain in operation as long as necessary up to that point.

Resettlement of homeless men will have to be made after a screening of the entire Bowery population, and as much time as possible should be given to effect their sympathetic resettlement.

If all the proposals set forth in the program for immediate resettlement work well, it may be possible to effect the resettlement of 800 men in addition to the 1,900 men on the site, and to demolish the four lodging houses between E. Houston and E. 4th Streets on the west side of the Bowery. Alternatively, The Housing Authority could rehabilitate the lodging houses, and operate them for non-drinking older men at significantly higher standards.



## NON-RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION

The alternate plan displaces 218 business uses. Eighty of these are displaced in the first stage of clearance, and the remainder in the second. The details are given below:

### DISPLACEMENT OF NON-RESIDENTIAL USES

Block	Establishments Displaced	
	Stage I	Stage II
Stanton to E. Houston St.	22	0
E. Houston to E. 1st St.	0	26
E. 1st to E. 2nd St.	25	0
E. 2nd to E. 3rd St.	10	23
E. 3rd to E. 4th St.	0	51
E. 4th to E. 5th St.	23	38
Total	80	138

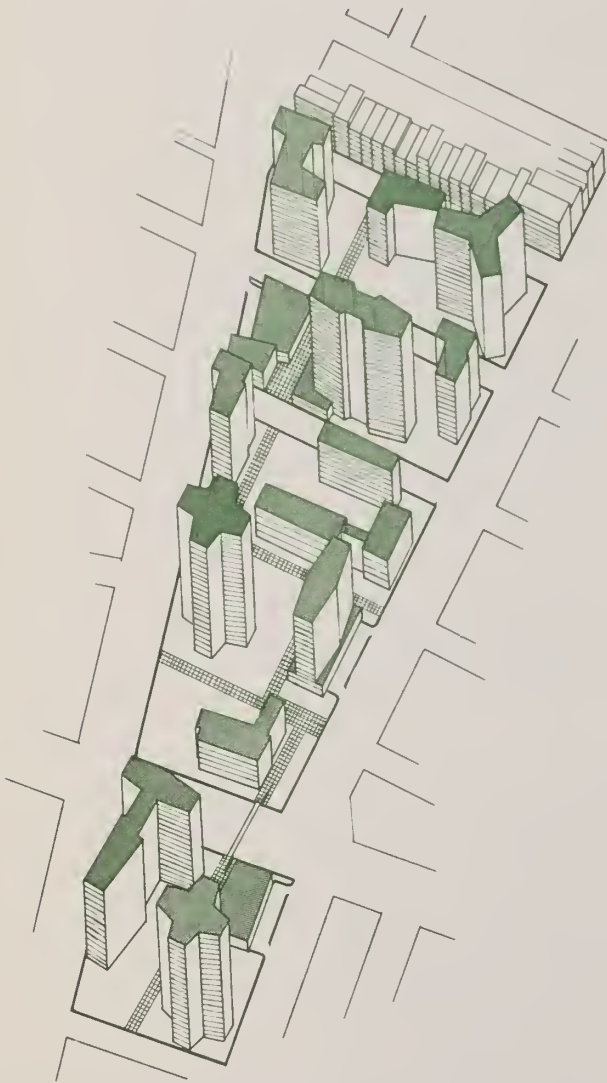
Assuming that the relocation program proposed for business relocation is adopted, the relocation of business can be equitably managed. The uses include parking lots, gas stations, bars, and a funeral parlor, however, and these, require special relocation assistance and possibly priorities on new licenses or leases. In addition to these uses, there are several eating places, restaurant supply and fixtures outlets, printing establishments, and small retail outlets, none of which seem to be extensive operations.

While first stage construction is in progress, and even before, business relocation can be initiated in the second-stage area, except for retail and other uses to be transferred to new quarters on the site.

Of the 138 non-residential uses to be displaced in the second stage, ten are community facilities. Some of the retail uses, and all of the locally-oriented community facilities in both stages should have space in the new building being erected. Two groups of stores will be erected in conjunction with the low-rent public housing and the Mitchell-Lama housing in the first stage, and the stores to be displaced in the second stage (as well as those displaced in the first stage) can enter space in the new quarters as they become ready for occupancy. Top priority for displaced firms in the commercial space to be built in the second stage is also assumed.

## Design Proposals

If the Bowery is closed as part of this plan, an unequalled opportunity to create a park-like urban environment will be provided. While no design showing the possibilities has been drawn, pending a study of the feasibility of the arterial changes, the initial project has been designed with such a change in mind, and would require little or no modification if it were to take place. Alternatively, the design for the initial project is not dependent on the closing of the Bowery and can be implemented separately.



The design of the renewed area has not been developed in detail. A sketch has been prepared, however, which illustrates some of the principles on which a final design might be based. Its basic idea is to integrate the buildings and their functions, to create a harmony between them, and to do this without producing a monotonous landscape.

In the accompanying sketch, buildings are of different heights, the tall buildings are interspersed with low buildings, and the community facilities and store groups are woven into the total fabric. The unifying concept is an internal pedestrian circulation system - the development is oriented away from the street. The design attempts to give buildings more individual identity and to offset the oppressive weight of too many tall buildings.

The shapes of the buildings reflect differences in the shape and size of the parcels being used. The design utilizes these differences rather than ignoring them. As a result, there are smaller and larger buildings, some more simple and others more complex. All are broken up by indentations and protrusions at various points, adding variety to the arrangements.

A final design should be imaginative and bold. One concept of renewal for Cooper Square, prepared by Tony Junker, student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as part of an architectural thesis, is reproduced below:



These differences in height, size, and arrangement will add to the cost of the project, but far less than is generally supposed. The building and architectural trades should rise to the design challenge in a more positive fashion than they have up to now.

Parking requirements should be satisfied in one of two ways: Either by a multi-level parking structure associated with shopping concentration, or in underground parking garages. The idea of using ground area for single-level parking is unacceptable in high density areas. In the sketch presented herein, the required parking is assumed to be beneath the buildings.

It might also be pointed out that parking requirements for low-income groups should not be as high as for other income groups, and that a requirement for 50 percent parking is probably excessive on the lower East Side. The requirements of the zoning ordinance should be amended to permit modifications for low and moderate income groups.





The open area between the buildings is to be developed for public recreational and pedestrian use. The centers of blocks are developed as pedestrian walks, the contemporary equivalent of sidewalks. These internal sidewalks are envisioned as the main pedestrian ways. They lead directly to buildings, run adjacent to store properties and community facilities, and also abut the various park and playground areas.

Play facilities are dispersed throughout the site, not concentrated in one place. Park areas, places for sitting and strolling among trees, are designed for public use, and provide a place for getting away from the crowd. The general concept is to use all the open space and not just part of it, to spread the activity throughout the area.

The total result should be one of attractiveness and charm. The buildings will provide living area, meeting space for groups, and schools for small children. Within a thousand feet, there will be local shops and other community facilities. Children will be able to live and play safely without moving into the streets. Along the pedestrian pathway, in the stores, and in the community facilities, the community will more easily find its way toward growth, prosperity, and happiness.



# Future

## Renewal Possibilities

The three blocks, deferred from clearance because of relocation difficulties, or uncertainties, provide excellent stepping stones to additional renewal in the Cooper Square vicinity. New projects can be started as soon as the difficulties have been alleviated.

With this in mind, it is proposed that a preliminary study be undertaken, hopefully leading to a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP) for the area in the vicinity of Cooper Square. As a result of both the overall considerations and the detailed analysis of the site, it seems worthwhile to pursue renewal studies in a somewhat larger area, the point of departure stemming from three major problems requiring study.

Most significant of these is the suggestion that Third Avenue be extended in a southerly direction. Second is the question of the desirability of using the blocks fronting on Delancey Street for heavy commercial or industrial use. Third, is the possibility of creating additional area for institutional uses, including the expansion of Cooper Union south of its present buildings and west of the Bowery.

Each of these problems requires detailed study by contrast with the proposed overall study of lower Manhattan suggested earlier. From this study should come a proposal for specific renewal projects, to follow the initial Cooper Square project.

### THIRD AVENUE EXTENSION

If Third Avenue is extended south, its effect on the immediate area will be a major one. It will permit the closing of the Bowery, and the simultaneous creation of larger and more easily designed superblocks in the Cooper Square area. The extension will also necessitate large-scale demolition of industrial and commercial areas in the path of the proposed street, and will penetrate the area known as Little Italy to the south.

North of East Houston Street, where commercial and industrial dislocation are involved, the possibilities of redeveloping this area for use by institutional and office uses must be studied. This will require a study of all businesses affected by the general plan.

Specifically, the validity of and need for relocation into existing non-residential buildings further west must be measured. The possibility of relocation to the proposed West Side Industrial District, the Flatlands Industrial Park, and the other industrial developments being planned by the City should also be considered. Finally, the desirability and feasibility of creating new facilities for commercial and industrial use in the GNRP area itself must be studied in detail.

It is important to adopt a customized approach to industry being displaced. While it may be true that the non-residential area is obsolete and inefficient, the businesses presently located there must not only be protected against unnecessary loss, but should be assisted in making a better adjustment elsewhere. There is some evidence to indicate that cheap rents are often counterbalanced by operating losses in inefficient space, and that groups of similar small establishments such as the printing trades can profitably share a specially designed building.

In the Cooper Square area, the store front and restaurant fixtures group deserve such consideration. This custom business, traditionally located on the Bowery and associated with wholesale restaurant suppliers, should be studied to determine whether this proximity is necessary or only convenient. Also, the potential for cooperatively financing space, either new or old, and for the cooperative buying and storing of materials, is worthy of study.

While these and other savings and cooperative opportunities exist, most individual firms have no clear idea of whether savings are possible for them. It is therefore recommended that plant engineering studies be made, and that plant engineering services be made available to the individual establishments being displaced. These studies and services would lead to the establishment of a fair relocation program on the one hand, and will assist those being displaced to make the best decisions on the other.

South of Houston Street a most careful appraisal of the situation in Little Italy is required. This community has a remarkable degree of cohesion. Despite its need for im-



## FUTURE RENEWAL POSSIBILITIES

provement, it has resisted all efforts at renewal, primarily because it fears the break-up of the community. Unfortunately, nothing but large-scale clearance has ever been proposed for this area.

But there is a chance that the proper kind of program would be accepted and even welcomed. The younger people have been moving out of the community because of the depressed physical conditions. The once sizable concentration of the Italian community is being whittled away, and if renewal without disruption could be achieved, the community might be grateful for the opportunity.

Extension of Third Avenue south is therefore not completely unrealistic. There are several alternatives as to its alignment. If a new neighborhood is developed to the west, it could be developed more specifically for this community. If not, perhaps rehousing on the Cooper Square site, with a minimum of rebuilding of Little Italy itself could be undertaken. Finally, the proposed extension could be shifted even further west, skirting Little Italy and causing the least disruption.

#### INSTITUTIONAL EXPANSION AREA

Finally, the feasibility of redeveloping the area west of the Bowery and south of Cooper Union for institutional and office uses should be studied. In the City's plan for Cooper Square almost two blocks were proposed for use by Cooper Union, the Lexington School for the Deaf, and the Third Street Music Settlement. While this proposal was rejected by the Cooper Square Community Development Committee because such institutional uses would have interrupted the contiguity of the residential area in the vicinity of its shopping district, the need for institutional area in general and for Cooper Union expansion in particular was acknowledged.

Accordingly, an exploratory study of Cooper Union's expansion possibilities was made, and the area to the south of the present buildings and west of the Bowery seemed likely to answer the need. If Fourth Avenue were closed between St. Mark's Place and the Bowery, and the existing heavy commercial and other uses now fronting on Fourth Avenue relocated elsewhere, it would be possible to develop a handsome campus for Cooper Union. Traffic flow through this sector is not heavy, nor is this connection needed for the major street system.



Since many of the establishments in the vicinity of Cooper Union are heavy generators of truck traffic, their removal and replacement with less objectionable uses would benefit the entire residential community. If new industrial and heavy commercial facilities were developed in the vicinity of tunnel and bridge approaches, moreover, the firms to be displaced might welcome the opportunity to move.

While some of the buildings to be displaced are substantial structures, the gain in land from the closing of Fourth Avenue would also be substantial. With a Title I writedown, the needed expansion should be within the capacity of Cooper Union (which is not heavily endowed) to finance.

As a result of the studies proposed here, and possibly others that will be necessary, it should be possible to prepare a plan for development of this or a larger area which includes specific proposals for two or three additional projects. This should hold true whether or not it is finally decided to extend Third Avenue south. It is therefore recommended that an exploratory study be undertaken of the proposed area, with a view toward preparing a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP) in the near future.



# Bowery Resettlement Program

## PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY OF THE HOMELESS MEN ON THE BOWERY AND THE PREPARATION OF A PLAN FOR THEIR RESETTLEMENT

In June of 1960 the Housing and Redevelopment Board of the City of New York deferred action on the Cooper Square project, a Title I project for cooperative housing, partly on the basis that the project would be situated in the midst of the skid-row area along the Bowery, only one side of which was included in the plan for clearance. Not only was the Bowery influence felt to be undesirable for the cooperative project, but it was recognized that the project itself would probably disrupt the Bowery community. Within the project area some 4,000 of the 12,000 beds in lodging houses, missions, and hotels normally available to homeless men would be demolished by the plan. In addition, the Men's Shelter of the Department of Welfare, a facility which feeds and provides shelter for several thousand men daily (directly and through referrals), was also slated for demolition.

In considering the problems posed by the relocation of these accommodations and facilities, the depth of the misery and suffering along the Bowery were revealed. And it became apparent that there were other areas in the city with the same problems and the same conditions. In such vast physical and social slums as these, nothing short of a total effort - in housing, medical care, social service, and rehabilitation - will relieve the suffering of these men and permit the blight to be eliminated. It is toward that end that the Bowery Resettlement Program is directed.

The Bowery has long been notorious as the capital skid-row area in the country, and still retains much of its legendary connotation for two characteristics: First, the high incidence of alcoholism among its inhabitants, and second, its reputation as the headquarters of the hard-

living, fast-moving, summer-working hobo. While both these elements are active on the Bowery, there has probably been a marked change in the resident population over the decades. Studies of skid-rows in Chicago, Philadelphia, Minneapolis and Sacramento have revealed some startling facts about skid-row populations - facts which will probably hold for the Bowery as well. The majority of skid-row residents are non-drinkers or light drinkers. Only 20 percent can be classified as troublesome drinkers. A significant portion (about 20 percent) are steady workers, with full-time, permanent jobs. Over half of the homeless men are aged persons, living on small pensions or on welfare, are infirm or are disabled. The new crop of younger men on skid-row have problems more mental than physical, are recent migrants with few skills, or have ended up on skid-row because of mental illnesses, temporary destitution or unemployment, and are among its hardest drinkers. There are still high percentages of migratory workers, but the percentages are showing a tendency to decline.

Newspaper series, books, pictures and magazine articles have often described Bowery life over the years, and they tend to support the picture of skid-rows in other cities. In support of the trend toward a high percentage of non-drinkers and light drinkers, moreover, the Cooper Square Community Development Committee's survey of business in the Cooper Square area showed that several bars have closed their doors during the past three years. The number of men serviced by the Men's Shelter of the Department of Welfare rises by several thousand every winter, substantiating the size of the migratory labor force. The Bowery's population is visibly aging, for all that. The old-time hobos, older residents and even the migratory workers are aging, far outnumbering the new and younger arrivals.

Since the beginning of World War II, which brought with it a sharp decline in the number of homeless men, the Bowery has been free of violence until recently. Though drunkenness and panhandling were always widespread and

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This proposal was prepared by Walter Thabit, Planning Consultant, with the assistance and financial support of the Cooper Square Community Development Committee, Thelma Burdick, Chairman, and Dr. Chester Rapkin, Consultant on Urban Economics and Land Use.

annoying, and despite the large numbers of men around bonfires, in doorways, on corners, or even sleeping in the halls of residential buildings, people felt safe on the Bowery.

During the past two years, however, there has been a sharp increase in the number of young, aggressive and potentially violent men on the Bowery. Prostitution and vice seem to be on the rise. Muggings, unheard of on the Bowery for more than a decade, have recently taken place; rapes have been attempted; and one or more homicides have been recorded. Whether these new elements are indigenous to an emerging pattern of skid-row, or merely represent activities related to other segments of the population, has not yet been determined. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Bowery area is becoming more, rather than less, of a problem. The effects of redevelopment without a proper resettlement program could have serious and undesirable side-effects on other areas.

In considering how to solve the Bowery problem, it must be recognized that the Bowery is ripe for redevelopment, and cannot be permitted to stay as it is for very much longer. Aside from containing dilapidated structures and a socially deprived population, The Bowery is one of the most strategic and desirable locations in Manhattan today. Its relatively low land cost contrasts with its desirable features. It is served by many subways, lies directly off the approaches to the Manhattan and Williamsburg bridges, and will soon be intimately linked with the Holland Tunnel by means of the Lower Manhattan expressway.

New York City's civic center will bound the area on the south. To the north and northwest new luxury apartment buildings (such as Stewart House, an 18-story luxury cooperative at 9th Street and 4th Avenue, selling at \$4,500 a room) have been and are being constructed. To the west lies the great commercial slum preserve, now being whittled down by redevelopment. To the east is the lower East Side, a major tenement area in Manhattan, which is systematically (though without the benefit of a plan) being redeveloped. The urban building boom will be responsible for the continuance of these and other pressures on the Bowery and other skid-row areas.

The Bowery is not the only skid-row area in the

City of New York. There are other areas in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn, where cheap hotels and rooming houses serve sizable populations, where heavy drinking is a normal part of the living pattern, where poor and aged single men congregate. In the past few years, moreover, partly as a result of redevelopment operations, a substantial number of furnished rooms have been eliminated by clearance operations, creating new concentrations of the less stable rooming-house element in areas on Manhattan's West Side and in Harlem. The study and plan for Bowery resettlement can be expected to shed some light on these emerging problems of the homeless and single men, giving an insight into their general needs, the availability of housing and other resources, and the way to prevent both skid-rows and aged persons' slum concentrations.

On the basis of previous studies in skid-row areas, there would seem to be unanimity on several points. First, the poverty is one of the major problems on skid-row. Men on small pensions and on welfare have insufficient money to obtain decent accommodations; they have little money for food or clothing; and almost no money for recreational or cultural purposes. A substantial number have incomes lower than those afforded by welfare; these men, as well as many others, attend missions for food and shelter, saving what they can in this way to help stretch their meagre incomes. Even begging, as a source of supplementary income, is not uncommon.

A second problem is that of alcoholism and its rehabilitation. There is a persistence of the arrest and workhouse approach - a philosophy of the intransigence of alcoholics - that is not borne out by the facts. Some pioneering work has been done in New York and elsewhere on alcoholic rehabilitation, but no conclusive approach has found universal acceptance. The combined and often contradictory approaches of jail and workhouse terms, religious conversion, Alcoholics Anonymous' socially enforced total withdrawal, social and vocational rehabilitation, hospitalization withdrawal, and others, desperately need some more rational guidance: an agreement on objectives, functions and roles, and much better coordination with other welfare activity to become effective. No more than an encouraging dent has been made in alcoholic rehabilitation to date.



Medical care is still another major problem. Tuberculosis and venereal disease, curable disabilities, such as hernia, which prevent men from working, and many nutritional deficiencies are rampant among the homeless men, and largely go untreated. Even when medical care is available, in city hospitals for example, many homeless men stumble along for years without the medical care they need. The available facilities are nearly always inadequate, however, and service is far from satisfactory.

Directly related to the needs of homeless men for better living conditions, medical care, and employment opportunities, is the manner in which welfare services are provided. It is unfortunate that aid to homeless men (as well as to the great majority of underprivileged in our great cities) is in continuous danger of becoming disorganized, depersonalized, and actually harmful. Despite the efforts of devoted personnel, reforms instituted a decade or more ago actually add to the problems, rather than help solve them. Individualized programs, sometimes under the very pressures of the thousands needing such help, become perverted into mass-assistance operations which help create the "shelterized" man, rather than the independent citizen the program was designed to produce.

In private philanthropic efforts there is less chance of program deterioration, but more confusion about objectives, deriving from the great variety of agencies and the capacity to provide services. The desire to "do something" for homeless men has often resulted in a program of doubtful utility. While progressive agencies change their programs as the needs change, programs of others - which were always unsuitable - have remained unchanged for the last 30 to 50 years.

The difficulty of responding successfully to changing conditions, such as increasing numbers of men and changes in the types of men on skid-row, are complicated by the simultaneous deterioration of physical facilities, aging of personnel, and inadequate budgets to do the required jobs. For these and similar reasons a thorough investigation of objectives, organization, procedures, staffs, facilities, and operating budgets of welfare activities and a reorganization of program periodically seem to be necessary.

In New York these are all real problems. The

study will, therefore, pay particular attention to concepts and ideas which are likely to alleviate the suffering and misery of homeless men. New rooming house accommodations will be designed, taking into account the need for companionship and privacy, the need for a home substitute, the need for better and cheaper food. An administrative and organizational procedure for reception and referral will be worked out, integrating the work of the various municipal departments and private agencies responsible for health and welfare. In particular, the potential for positive coordination of the efforts of the Departments of Health, Hospitals, Police, Welfare, the Magistrate's Courts, and the supplementation of these services with those of private philanthropy will be examined and recommendations made. Further, a number of additional services will be tested, including the feasibility of winter work programs for migratory workers, and the establishment of live-work-study centers for those physically capable of work but without the mental stability or the mechanical skills to hold a job. These programs and facilities would become part of an overall rehabilitation network.

Finally, the idea of a comprehensive referral center to replace the present men's Shelter would be tested. Such a center would have representatives of all municipal, civic and mission services on the premises, and would be capable of referral and admission to all available major resources for dealing with the problems of homeless men. The feeding and shelter functions of the reception center would be incidental to its main job - that of substantially reducing the total number of destitute men without shelter, employment, food, or medical care.

#### PROPOSED PROGRAM

The Bowery has long received a great deal of attention from municipal, civic, and private agencies. In spite of the great number of facilities and services thus made available, the Bowery has continued to be the scene of unrelieved physical and mental suffering. It has also developed into one of the worst physical and social slums in the City of New York. It is therefore proposed that a program of research and planning be undertaken which would result in the preparation of a plan for dealing with this problem in a positive, coordinated and effective manner.

The study to be undertaken will have two major objectives:

1. Preventive programs which will assure that new skid-row areas or aged persons slum areas do not develop in the future.
2. Resettlement programs which insure that Bowery residents have adequate accommodations, a sufficiency of food, medical care, and an opportunity to participate more fully in community life.

At the present time, the knowledge necessary to carry out these objectives is inadequate. Although the recent studies in other cities have already thrown an enormous amount of light on the true nature of skid-row residents and their problems, the need for systematic, comprehensive, and well-designed research is still great, and cannot be overlooked in developing a program for Bowery resettlement.

Most of the research to date has concentrated on the characteristics of homeless men, and rather less attention has been given to the satisfaction of their needs. Greater emphasis is therefore required on the organization and administration of welfare services, and the planning and development of adequate housing, rehabilitation, and other needed facilities.

A program has therefore been devised which will make use of the pioneer work accomplished by others, and which will emphasize organizational, administrative, and physical solutions to the manifold problems. The proposed program has been organized into research and planning phases. The research phase will include the study of homeless men and their living conditions, and an analysis of welfare services, organization, and facilities. Following is an outline of its contents:

#### HOMELESS MEN AND THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS

**Analysis of Census Data:** Census data for the years 1940, 1950, and 1960 will be examined to reveal the numbers and characteristics of the Bowery population, and of groups throughout the city (such as single male rooming-house and hotel occupants) with similar characteristics. Due attention

will be paid to the seasonal fluctuation of the Bowery population; records of the Department of Welfare's Men's Shelter will be analyzed to provide a year-round picture of the homeless men population.

**Interviews of Homeless Men:** A carefully selected, random sampling of approximately 500 persons living on the Bowery will be interviewed. Their drinking habits, work experience, income and its source, leisure-time pursuits, attitude toward Bowery life, and other pertinent information will be solicited. Further study of the physical and mental health of a subsample of those interviewed will be undertaken in an effort to determine the overall requirements for medical care and the potential for rehabilitation of those too ill to work.

A companion sample of between 150 and 200 interviews of homeless men in other areas, primarily in rooming-house and cheap hotel-room accommodations, will be undertaken to determine the similarities between Bowery residents and rooming-house and hotel-room occupants. Particular attention will be paid to the compatibility with which the non-Bowery men reside in their areas, and the extent to which Bowery residents could be assimilated in such areas.

**Living Conditions:** An inventory and analysis of the housing and living conditions of homeless men on the Bowery will be made. The mode of life in hotels, lodging houses, rooming houses, missions, the Men's Shelter, etc., will be explored, including the way in which these places are operated, the type and quality of sleeping arrangements and living facilities, the rents charged, the services and assistance provided, and the degree of cooperation with social agencies. Interviews with managers of facilities will also be conducted to get their views on the behavior of residents with respect to their living arrangements.

**Housing Market Analysis:** A market analysis of the rooming-house, cheaper hotel room, and similar accommodations for single men of limited means will be undertaken. This study will reveal the number of rooms likely to be available during the next ten years, the number of rooms



likely to be lost through redevelopment, and the number and type of accommodations needed for the resettlement of the Bowery population and other rooming-house and hotel occupants likely to be dislocated during the coming decade.

## WELFARE SERVICE, ORGANIZATION, AND FACILITIES

**Inventory of Services:** An intensive effort will be made to completely inventory all the services rendered or made available to homeless men by public and private agencies. The location and types of service, the procedures by which assistance is given or case disposition is made, the capacity to serve and the actual service rendered, the costs of operation and other pertinent information will be collected. Experience and information on efforts to rehabilitate alcoholics and mentally unstable individuals will receive special attention.

**Staff Interviews:** The above analysis will be undertaken hand in hand with a semi-structured, planned, interview which would be used as a guide by a team of experienced interviewers to make a record of the knowledge, experience, interpretations of the situation, and the suggestions for action that are now in the minds of well-informed persons scattered among the many official agencies and civic and private welfare organizations in the City of New York. This includes contacts with agency heads, technical staff personnel, case-workers, and other persons in daily contact with the situation and those who have first-hand knowledge of Bowery residents and their needs.

**Analysis of Facilities:** A physical survey of facilities for welfare, social service, medical care, rehabilitation, and other services provided to homeless men will be made. The appropriateness of the facility and its location, the adequacy and condition of the physical plant will be evaluated. Estimates of needed facilities will be prepared.

As a result of these studies, the problem will be structured in terms of needs and capacities. The individual residents would be classified into groups having specific needs or posing specific

problems. The agencies dealing with their needs and problems would be classified according to the groups they serve. These needs and capacities will be compared, and gaps or inadequacies recorded, and supplemented by appropriate recommendations.

At this point, the planning phase begins. It is also separated into two parts: First, the planning of welfare organization, service, and facilities, and second, the preparation of a Bowery Resettlement Program. These are described briefly:

## WELFARE SERVICES PROGRAM

**Manual of Organization:** Taking into account the gaps or inadequacies in social, welfare, and medical services, and paying special attention to problems of rehabilitation, alcoholic treatment, and referral, a manual of organization would be prepared. The manual would set forth a recommended organization of services, including changes in responsibilities of specific agencies, the expansion of reduction of staffs and services, the procedures for cooperation and coordination to be followed between agencies, and the appropriate fields for public and private operations, an operating budget showing increases or decreases in costs would be appended.

**Facilities Plan:** A plan for physical facilities would be prepared including recommendations for new facilities for treatment of homeless men where appropriate, and the modernization, elimination, or continuance of present facilities. Where new facilities are proposed, plans would be prepared showing proposed locations, environmental setting, physical appearance, and costs of construction for each facility. A capital improvements program would be prepared, and a timing schedule and priorities list recommended.

## BOWERY RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

**Housing Needs:** Based on the prior research, a housing plan for Bowery residents would be prepared. This would include a statement of the need for new rooming-house or hotel accommodations, for the

retention, elimination, or rehabilitation of existing facilities, and would set standards for such accommodations. For new housing, prototype designs and suitable locations will be offered and specific location standards presented. Architectural concepts will express social objectives in both new and rehabilitated structures, and efforts will be made to incorporate appropriate sponsorship of such facilities, whether public private, or philanthropic. Construction costs, proposed rents, the needed level and type of subsidy (where appropriate), and other data relative to project feasibility will be included.

**Relocation Plan:** Working with the appropriate authorities, a plan for the relocation of Bowery residents will be prepared. This plan would be coordinated with the implementation of the welfare services program the housing plan presented above, and with a multi-stage redevelopment plan for the Bowery area. Emphasis of the plan would be on a resettlement process that would insure continuation of normal services to homeless men, and that would provide a greatly increased standard of living from its inception. It would insure that for each hotel, lodging house, mission, or shelter closed down, an equivalent supply of new, rehabilitated or existing vacant housing and/or rehabilitation and resident care facilities would be made available for the displaced population.

## OPERATION OF THE STUDY

While many professional skills will be involved in this proposed program, that of the professional city planner comes closest to fulfilling the need for an overall director for the project. A city planner is a general organizer of space and programs, for one thing, and it is in the field of planning where the greatest gaps in work done to the present exist. Of the studies on homeless men done in other cities, moreover, those which were undertaken by planning oriented agencies (such as the Redevelopment Authority in Minneapolis) have come closest to practical solutions and have been the most comprehensive. It is therefore recommended that the study be independently conducted under the direction of a qualified city planner or city planning consultant.

The study is to be sponsored by one or more city agencies, perhaps subcontracted to a non-official

private agency concerned with the problems of homeless men for actual operation. It is to be financed either through Section 314 of the Housing Act of 1959 (in which the federal government pays two-thirds of the cost for demonstration program while one-third will be contributed locally) or on a smaller scale by local contributions alone.

The director of the project will be supplied with a small technical and secretarial staff. Major areas of research will be subcontracted to consultants, university research groups, or other organizations which have proven capability in the required field. Consultants will be employed to conduct the studies in urban economics, opinion research, public and welfare administration, and architecture, among others.

A special advisory committee will be established to help plan all phases of the program, to help obtain the cooperation, and participation of public and private agencies, and to assist in the implementation of the final plan. Agencies requested to join the advisory committee will include city departments involved with housing, planning, health, welfare, and finance, private organizations with significant experience and interest in the problems of homeless men, local community organizations and technical groups such as associations of architects, planners, public administrators, sociologists, and social workers.

From the membership of the general advisory committee, a number of subcommittees will be formed including committees on housing, welfare services, welfare organization, alcoholic rehabilitation, and others, as the need arises. These groups will help formulate approaches to research, aid in the formulation of objectives and goals, and help to interpret findings and recommendations.

It is expected that the study will take two years to complete. Within one year, a progress report will be issued on the research phase, giving sufficient information to aid in solving the more immediate relocation problems, and to permit the strengthening of some services. At about 18 months, preliminary findings of the planning and organizational work would be made available. The final report would be published at the end of the two-year period, and would be distributed to the appropriate agencies and to interested citizens as a stimulant to action and a guide to implementations.



# Committee Survey of One Block

Below is a summary of a survey of the block between Second Avenue and the Bowery, between E. 4th and E. 5th Streets. The survey was conducted by the Cooper Square Committee in 1959.

## BLOCK SUMMARY

1.	Number of tenants interviewed	263		
	Not at home	46		
	Would not answer	12		
	Total tenants		321	
2.	Single tenants (a) who live alone	64		
	(b) who share apartments	34		
	Total single people		98	
3.	Number of children (a) boys	126		
	(b) girls	87		
	Total children		213	
4.	Number of tenants who had previously been interviewed		9	
5.	Number of tenants who would leave neighborhood even if housing they could afford were constructed		12	
6.	Number of Puerto Rican families in this block		25	
7.	Tenants who would require more than 3 bedrooms		7	
8.	Monthly Rent:	9.	Length of Occupancy:	
	Under \$40	139	Under 3 years	46
	\$40 to \$49	46	3 to 10 years	69
	\$50 to \$59	24	11 to 15 years	26
	\$60 and over	29	15 to 20 years	56
	Landlord or Super	12	20 or more years	60
	No Answer	2	No Answer	6
10.	Weekly Income:			
	Under \$59		72	
	\$60 to \$79		68	
	\$80 to \$99		37	
	\$100 to \$124		18	
	\$125 and over		5	
	Soc. Sec. or Welfare		30	
	Unemployed		5	
	No Answer		28	

## STAFF AND TECHNICAL CREDITS

The list of government employees who gave their time and assistance would be overly long if given, and therefore only the names of agencies are included:

Department of Planning  
Housing and Redevelopment Board  
Housing Authority  
Department of Real Estate  
Department of Traffic  
Office of the Comptroller  
New York State Division of Housing  
Department of Welfare

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The Steering Committee gave a tremendous amount of time to reviewing the report, and made many substantial contributions to its content and style. Frances Goldin, the Committee's housing consultant, assisted materially in the organization and editing of the report.

Many Committee members contributed to the typing of the manuscript and to other phases of reproduction. Bernard Etter assisted in the layout; Frances Goldin and others typed the final report.

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